

An Apologie,
or defence, of those
English Wryters &
Preachers which Cerberus
the three headed Dog
of Hell, chargeth wyth
falle doctrine, vnder
the name of Prede-
stination.

Written by Robert Crowley
Clerke, and Vicare of Saint
Giles without Cripple-
gate in London.

Imprinted at Lon-
don, in Paternoster Rowe, at the
signe of the Starre, by
Henry Denham.

Anno. 1566. Octobris. 14.

my name is now unknown to all
and now to mine I will it call
what wase the cause that this wase was
and why wase done so late as night
my mother how searching for got
something to put into the pot
myself wase late one fore night
for to by flesh she thought it right
wase in the night I bought my beef
and sold for him before I wase
in my house to see him through
but now I find there is cause
considering what my beef wase
I do now my merry life
for men gone for him I did say
I wase my to beef and come away

To the right worshipful Mistresse
Anne Henege, hir welwiller

in Christ, wytheth increase of all
vertue in this lyfe, and after,
endlesse glorie.



Hen I had, in
March last, made an
ende of this Apolo-
gie (right worship-
full, and dearlie be-
loued in Christ) I
did, as the maner is,
consider wyth my
selfe, what friend I
myght chiefly gra-
tifie wyth thys my
labour, and calling
to memory the time
of my being in your

Fathers seruice, when you were but yong, and your
gentlenesse in admitting me to your presence and
friendly communication since God hath called you
to hygher place: I thought I coulde not finde any,
whome I ought rather to gratifie wyth thys labour
than you. And especially bicause I haue bene so
straunge wyth you, who haue at all times of my be-
ing wyth you wyllled me to see you more often. But
my calling hath caused me to be a nigarde of time:
and loth to spend any, otherwise thā in studie. That
ye might therefore, haue some occasion to thynke
that I am not altogether vndmindful and vnthanks-
full: I haue thought good to make you the chiefe
partaker of thys fruit of my studies in the time that

a.ij.

I haue

The Epistle

I haue bene absent from you . The occasion that I had to wryte thys Apologie: was (as it may appeare in the dilcourse thereof) the copie of an aunswere that some one wythout name , wrote to a letter of his friende namelesse also , whych to the reproche of me especially, and of all other true preachers and writers besides me , was secretly sowed about the streates of London, and sent into all quarters of this Realme. I haue by the testimonie both of Scripture and auncient Fathers defended the doctrine that I haue heretofore preached and written , touching Gods euerlasting Prouidence and Predestination. And as I could come to the sight of that which other men haue of late yeares written of the same : I haue weyghed their words and conceyued their meaning, and defended the trueth of their doctrine , as mine owne. And if there be anie thing in any of their writings which I haue not, neyther could sufficiently defend, because I could not come to the sight of their bookes : I haue referred the enimie to the Authors of such bookes , who are yet liuing , and of age to answere for themselves. But as touching that which I haue seene of theirs in thys doctrine of Gods Prouidence and Predestination : I thinke Cerberus and hys sort, shall neuer be able wyth any honestie to go about to disproue this defence. I know not how you be affected towards thys doctrine: but I would wish you to reade this booke without all affection , other than a feruent loue to the truth, whych is to be preferred before all, and wyll be found out of all that in the feare of God wyll seke for it, and wyth earnest and continuall prayer craue it at Gods hande . And before all thyngs , such as desire to haue any taste of the swete and comfortable doctrine of Gods eternal
Pro.

The Epistle

Providence and Predestinatiō: must labour to haue their mindes and bodies both, pure and vnspotted wyth sinne. For as the Wiseman sayth: Wysedome will not rest in a bodie that is subiect to sinne. Such therefore as can not away wyth this so comfortable and necessarie doctrine: should thinke that there is some sinne that ruleth in their bodies and mindes, which causeth the heauenlie wisdom to haue no pleasure to dwell in them. In some reigneth couetousnesse, the roote of all mischiefe: and in some other prodigalitie, the planter of the same: in some superstition, the nurse of all hipocrisie: and in some other, Athisme and vtter contempt of God and all godlinesse: in some, pride and presūption, the occasion of all Apostasie: and in some other, self loue, the fosterer of al delicacie. To cōclude, none can be found that is vtterly without fault: but happy is that persō that hath fewest and least faults: yea happie are they to whom no fault shalbe imputed. Those be Godselekt and chosen children, whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sinnes are couered in Christ. Though these doe through infirmitie sinne, yet they haue no pleasure in sinne, they serue not sinne, they strue agaynst sinne, they suffer not sinne to beare rule in them. Beyng armed wyth the armour of God, they fight vnder the banner of Christ all the dayes of this lyfe, and shall in the ende receyue that crowne of righteousnesse that God hath in his euerlasting prouidence prepared and layde vp in store for all such. God graunt that all such as professe the Religion of Christ Iesus, may stil strue to obtayne that crowne. The Lord Iesus guide you with his holy spirit. Amē.
From Fennie Stanton, the. 16. of Septēber. 1566.

Yours in Christ, Robert Crowley.

To the Reader.



Being openlve

defamed, in writing set
abroade by one that
hath no name: I suffe-
red y^e same, long time,
to delite himfelfe in his
own blindnesse, and to
boast himfelfe among
hys secreete maintay-
ners, being in y^e meane
while better occupied,
than in w^restling with
such a one as is asha-
med to set his name to

the booke he writeth, and causeth to be imprinted.

I thought, that the writings of such one, coulde not
haue bene hurtfull to the estimation that I and others of
my calling, should of right haue among the true profes-
sors of Gods Gospell: bicause such he re inough alreadie
in print, and in the English tong, to aunswere all such
blind barking dogs as this is. But perceiuing that some
men which professe the Gospell, will rather credit such a
Kaylor, than take the paynes to reade that wherein they
might haue wherewith to be able to aunswere for vs that
that are railed vpon, bicause the same was written, be-
fore this Hell dogge began to bark: I haue now written
a short Apologie, or defence of my selfe and others of my
calling, whom this Hell hound doth so egerly barke at:
willing the Christian Reader, to read it with indifferent
iudgement, neyther inclin^g to the one nor the other,
til he haue read both. And bicause none shall haue cause
to complaine: I haue set downe in writing all that this
Dogge

To the Reader.

Dogge hath written, and then defended that which he findeth fault withall, so that euerie matter hath it manifest defence ioyned vnto it, that the Christian Reader, may haue wherewithall to byng himselfe out of doubt. And least any should be offended, for that I terme mine aduersarie by y name of Cerberus or Hell dogge: I wold all men should consider the cause. He hath take vpon him to reprehende the teachers of the truth, and those, which are or should be, the light of the worlde: and yet, as one that would not be called to an accompt of his doings, he hideth his name. Wherefore, I haue giuen him such a name, as is meete for hym: till he put his name to that he writeth in the reproch and discredite of such as feare not openly to teach the truth, and when they write it, to subscribe their names to the same. When this Hel hound therefore, shall set his name to his booke: I wil vse none other name but that which by his owne writing shal appeare to be his. In the meane while, let him & his friends be contented that he beare such a name, as his doings do deserue. Cerberus, as y Poets do faine, is a Dogge with thre heades, which watcheth Hell gates, whose barking is horrible, for he barketh with thre mouthes, and his haire is snakes. His name by interpretation doth signifie a deuourer of bodies. Wherefore, it is not a name vile inough for this Hell dogge, whose propertie is to deuour soules, and the good names of such as he is not able to accuse of any crime. And with his barking he goeth not about to trouble the Kingdome of Hel (as Cerberus did) but the Kingdome of heauen, which is the Church of Christ, which by faith in Christ, is assured of hir eternall Predestination to euermore glorie after this life, and in this life to deliuerance from all euill. Of which comfort this Cerberus laboureth by his barking to spoile hir; as shall moze plainly appeare in the Apologie of those,

To the Reader.

those, whom he seeketh by his barking to dash out of countenance.

But least I should trouble thee Christian Reader, with ouer manie wordes before the matter: I ceasse to write any more. Farewel in Christ Iesus. And pray to God for the presence of his holie spirite, to leade thee in the reading of this Apologic. Amen. Finished the first of March Anno. 1565.

Roman. 8.

Those whome God knewe before: them hath he predestinated to be made like vnto the Image of his sonne, that he might be the eldest among many brethren.

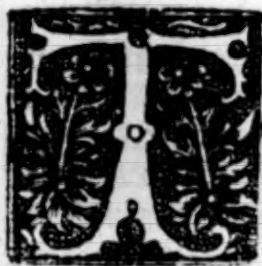
Faultes escaped in the Printing.

Leafe.	Side.	Line.	Faultes.	Correction.
5	2	18	Sapient. 2	Sapient. 1.
8	1	16	4. Esdras. 6.	4. Esdras. 7.
14	2	25. 26.	one or two moe,	one moe,
18	1	2	he had	he hath
23	1	9	4. Esdras. 4.	4. Esdras. 9.
26	2	3	Iam est ex eo	Iam ex eo
31	1	14	might haue	might haue
41	2	18	quum	cum
41	2	25	the same both	the same, he both
47	2	28	a sinne that	a shame that
49	1	4	rightly to be	rightly so to be
51	1	7	things as euer	things that euer
53	1	6	to salute	to solute.
65	1	2	to beare	do beare
69	1	19	wooketh against	wooketh not against
74	1	26	neuer reade of	neuer reade.
96.	1	18	Δικαιος	Δικαιος
Ibid.	Ibid.	Ibid.	μή	μή
Ibid.	Ibid.	30	Δυναμεως	Δυναμιος
101	2	14	howe the euill	howe euill
Ibid.	Ibid.	32	non deest	non dum est

An Apologie of Crowley 1

and others.

Cerberus.



THE Copie of an Aunswere, made vnto a certaine letter: wherein the Aunswerer purgeth himselfe and other, from *Pelagius* errours, and frō the error of free will or iustification of workes: wherewithall he semeth to be charged, by the sayde letter: And further he sheweth, wherin he differeth in iudgement, from certaine Englishe writers and Preachers, whome he chargeth with the teaching of false doctrine, vnder the name of Predestination.

Crowley.



I had bene very well done of Cerberus to haue set downe in wryting the copie of the letter that he sayth he Aunswereth, and the name of him that wrote it: so might those that he nameth in hys aunswere, haue had some waye to haue founde out the Auctour of the Aunswere, that this matter being debated priuately betwene them, a meane might haue bene founde for the ending of the controuerſie and the satisfying of suche as by this aunswere are not onely brought into doubt, of the truth of Gods cuerlasting Predestination: but also haue conceived an euill opinion of such as be the teachers therof. But if I shall speake that I thinke: I muske needes sape, that I thinke there was no such letter wrytten. But Cerberus

A.j.

hath

An Apologie of Crowley

hath sayned this, as a ground to set his foundation bpō. For otherwise it shoulde haue seemed too too maliciously done, vpon none occasion to write and set abroad in print to the diffamation of publique Preachers and writers: such matter as in this aunswere he chargeth them with: all. But graunt there were such a letter written: yet was not that a iuste occasion for Cerberus to charge by name, mee or anye other, which knewe not of the writing of it. Well, he purgeth himselfe and other, he sayth, of diuers errors wherewith he seemeth to be charged in that letter. It had bene well, he had not in purging himselfe charged other, that muste fall to purging too. But that was to shewe what spirite he is of. Not of that spirite which in loue seeketh the reformation of other mens errors: but of that spirite that in malice seeketh to maintaine his owne errors by the defacing of other, which neuerthelesse, will in the ende, be the defacing of himselfe. For such as vse to digge pittes for others to fall into: doe commonly fall into the same themselves first of all.

Cerberus.

I desire of God by his grace and mercy, to settle, strength, and stablishe you in the truth of his holye Worde for euer. Dearely beloued, where you write vnto me, that you haue often hearde, that I and other, shoulde holde the errors of *Pelagius*: whose errors you say are almost vnknownen vnto you what they are. And where further it is reported of vs (as you saye) that we shoulde denie the predestination of God: and seeke a iustification by free will, and by deseruing of workes, which matter you do both vnderstande, and haue also founde good proufe (as you suppose) that we are guiltie in the same, laying the

the whole foundation of your proufe, vpon this saying set forth in print.

Although there be but fewe on earth, that rightly thee deserue :

Yet thou, O Lorde, for their good lyfe, the residue preserue.

With which filthy saying, to burden me and other whome ye name : I maruell greatly that you coulde be so much abused, not considering by whom it was written, and set forth in print : for by the titling you see, it was printed beyonde the seas, in Queene Maries time, for that it is entitled, A prayer to God for his afflicted Church in Englande, and as it there appeareth manifest, it is the worke of W. Samuell, which is a mā vnto me of very small acquaintance: but a Preacher he is. And as for his saying, that a man may deserue God. &c. Which you desire me to proue if I can : it is a doctrine so abhominable and blasphemous: as I am sure neither Papist, nor Pelagian, nor any other Heretike, eyther olde or newe, hath written or maintained, a more filthy, and execrable saying. For it is the flatte and manifest deniall both of God the Father & of his Sonne Christ Iesu : neither doth it require any confutation to him that doth but confesse, that there is a God: and as for my selfe, I assure you : I doe not loue my lyfe so dearely, as I hate this vile saying deadlye. But wonder it is, that such a sentence, conteyning the very filthy dregs, of all *Pelagius* errours, coulde so long stande printed, and neither be forbidden, nor by any man written against.

Crowley.

I lyke very well, the Prayer that Cerberus beginneth his Oracion withall : but his purpose in praying

A. y.

(which

An Apologie of Crowley

(which appeareth to be, to deceiue the simple) I doe lyke nothing at all. The foundation of his friendes proufe of that he chargeth him with (as he sayth) is but slender: for it is but a fault in the print, as euery mā may see that will reade but two verses going before in y^e same prayer, and fire immediately following. And that the indifferent reader may be satisfied, I will write downe those verses, because it will be harde for men to finde the bookes wherein the Prayer is printed.

Of all the Sonnes that thou hast had, but one thou dost regarde:

And for his sake thou art content, that we shall be preserued.

So, though there be but fewe on earth, that rightly thee deserue:

Yet thou, O Lorde, for their good lyfe, the residue preserue.

If ten in Sodome had bene founde, the Citie still had stonde:

And had remained without fall as did the other lande.

And let not now thy mercies slacke, but be thou alwayes one:

And haue respect vnto all those, that trust to thee alone.

Those, whome thou hast in prison layde, for breaking of thy lawe.

Deliuier them and giue them grace, to liue in better awe.

If any of Cerberus friendes had bene Auctour of this Prayer: he woulde sone haue espied the printers fault, and woulde haue read those two verses thus.

So, though there be but fewe on earth, that rightly thee doe serue:

Yet thou, O Lorde, for their good lyfe, the residue preserue.

And so should the saying haue bene no more filthy, than was the saying of Abraham to the Aungell, when he entreated for the Citie of Sodome, and sayde: **What if there lacke five of fiftie, wilt thou destroy the whole Citie for lacke of five?** Or the saying of the Aungell, when aunswering Abraham he sayde: **If I finde but ten iust men in the Citie, I will spare it for their sakes.** But Cerberus was so bent to barke at the Preachers of predestination, that he coulde not haue leysure to reade more than y^e title and those two verses, which being corrupted in

in printing, seemed to serue his purpose. And surely, I doe not yet beleue that any man coulde be so madde as to charge him with those verses. But this I beleue, that he hath wrytten them otherwise than they were printed. For the first verse beginning thus: *So, though. &c.* he hath wrytten it thus. *Although. &c.* Which argueth that either he neuer sawe the booke that Samuell made, or else, he supposed that none shoulde come to the sight of it, but such as doe fauour his faction. And in very deepe some of them haue made verie straunge to shewe that booke. But how so euer y^e matter go otherwise, he hath shamefully deceiued himselfe in triumphing ouer poore Samuell, as ouer him whome he compareth with the moste wicked Heretiques that euer were.

Cerberus.

And although I denie not but some other there are, which (maintaining the power of mans freewill, & the meritorious worthinesse of mans deseruing) doe denie the free gift of Gods grace in Christ Iesu, and for his only sake, comprehended in the eternall predestination, and foreordinaunce of God, and declared vnto vs in his moste holy Worde, yet because I see, there are many in these dayes, wrongfully and falsely, accused to be enemies of that blessed Predestination, to be Pelagians, iustificiers of themselves, and such lyke: And with those bitter termes, are in open Auditories defaced, and brought into contempt, among the multitude (who being deceiued. with giuing ouerhastie credite, vnto such men, not throughly vnderstanding the matter, doe vse to giue sentence, before the cause be hearde,) I haue thought it good therefore, most dearely beloued, not

An Apologie of Crowley

to them which take more delight in the defamation of other, than in knowing the truth themselves, but to thee, which art willing to vnderstande the matter, before thou iustifie or condemne either partie: in as fewe wordes as I possible can, to shewe what shamefull doctrine, vnder the name and colour of Gods Predestination, is now adayes set forth and taught of many, which both I and many other mislike, and haue diuers times with some of them in priuate and friendely talke, perswaded to leaue, both by cause we iudge the doctrine to be false, and also the destruction of all vertue to followe therevpon. For which cause, as the maner is of them that feare not so much the shipwrack of a good conscience, as they doe the losse of worldly estimation, least any such disfaouers of their fantasie, shoulde hap to haue some credit among the people, with boytious breath, they blowe abroad, that the mislikers of this their doctrine, are enemies to Gods holy Predestination. But right well knowe they, that those whome they nowe so specially accuse, to be such haters of Gods Predestination, are in dede, most intire louers of the same. And many, of those whom they accuse to be popishe Pelagians and Iustificiers of themselves: haue bestowed both their goodes and lyues, against that filthy and detestable sect. And as for those errors which *Pelagius* that olde heretike, with *Celestinus* and *Iulianus* his adherentes, did hold, and also reuoked the same in the Iudiciall counsell of *Palastine*: I think it good to rehearse them: first in Latine & after in Englishe, as they are gathered together by *Augustine*. And the to shewe, according to your request, what parte of their doctrine which they teache vnder the name of Predestination, my selfe and other doe mislike. To the

the ende that you and other may the better iudge, who are in deede worthy to be called Pelagians: and whether some parte of their doctrine, be not for iust cause misliked.

Crowley.

Here Cerberus vseth all his Rhetorique at once, to perswade his dearly beloued friend, whose letter he sayth he aunswereth, that he and other of his minde be falsely and wrongfully accused to be enemies of Gods holy predestinatiō. &c. And to this ende he will in as fewe words, as possibly he can, set forth what shamefull doctrine is now taught. &c. But first he will set forth both in Latine and in Englishe, those errours which the olde Heretike Pelagius, with other did holde and also reuoke. &c. That men may the better iudge, who are in deede worthy the name of Pelagians, (for he thinketh that he hath proued that we against whom he writeth, are those that should be called Pelagians) and whether some parte of oure doctrine be not for iuste cause misliked. Now let vs see how he noteth Pelagius errours out of Augustine, first in Latine, and then in Englishe. Which when we haue weighed, we shall see who are mosse lyke Pelagius, he & his, or I and mine. For this is his purpose, I am sure, for that he toucheth me first by name, and setteth himself and such as he is against al such as I am, affirming that whereas we accuse them as enemies of Gods Predestination, they are in deede y most intire louers and we the enemies therof. My chief laboz, therfore in this Apologie, shall be to make the truth hereof to appeare playnely to all the indifferent hearers.

Cerberus.

An Apologie of Crowley

Cerberus.

The wordes of Austen are these. *Episto. 106. tomo. 2.*
Obiectum est enim cum dicere. Quia Adam siue peccaret, siue non peccaret, moriturus esset. 2. Et quod peccatum eius, ipsum solum laeserit, non & genus humanum. 3. Et quod infantes, in illo statu sunt, quo Adam fuit ante prauaricationem. 4. Et quod neq, per mortem vel prauaricationem Ade, omne genus humanum moriatur, neq, per resurrectionem Christi, omne genus humanum resurgat. 5. Et diuites baptizatos nisi omnibus abrenuntient, si quid boni visi fuerint facere, non reputari illis, nec eos habere posse regnum Dei. 6. Et gratiam Dei atq, adiutorium, non ad singulos actus dari, sed in libero arbitrio esse, vel in lege atq, in doctrina. 7. Et dei gratiam secundum merita nostra dari. 8. Et filios Dei non posse vocari, nisi omnino absq, peccato fuerint effecti. 9. Et non esse liberum arbitrium, si Dei indiget auxilio, quoniam in propria voluntate habet vnusquisq, facere aliquid vel non facere. 10. Et victoriam nostram, non ex Dei adiutorio esse, sed ex libero arbitrio. 11. Et quod pœnitentibus venia nō detur secundum gratiam & misericordiam Dei: sed secundum meritum & laborem eorum, qui per pœnitentiam, digni fuerint misericordia. Hæc omnia Pelagius anathematizauit.

The first of Pelagius errors which Augustine here citeth is, that Adam shoulde haue died whether he had sinned or not sinned. This is as you heare, one of Pelagius wicked errors, that sinne is not the cause of Reprobation, or casting away, death sprong out of Gods ordinance, or some other way & came not of mans sinne (saith he) whether man had sinned or not sinned, yet should he haue dyed, contrary to the manifest Scripture which sayeth, that by one man sinne entred into the worlde, & death by the meanes
Rom. 5. b. of sinne. *Roma. 5. b.* And the wylie man sayth, that God created

created mā to be vndestroyed. And againe he saith. *Sapi.*
 God hath not made death, neither hath he pleasure
 in the destruction of the liuing, he created al things
 that they might haue their being, yea all the people
 of the earth hath he made, that they shoulde haue
 health, that there should be no destruction in them,
 and that the Kingdome of Hell should not be vpon
 earth, for righteousnesse is euerlasting and immor-
 tall, but vnrighteousnesse bringeth death. Wicked
 and abhominable therfore was this error of *Pelagius*
 which affirmeth, that whether man had sinned or
 not sinned: he shoulde haue dyed.

And here in the very beginning of *Pelagius* errors:
 I reporte me to themselues, euen to themselues (I
 saye) that blowe the trumpet of defamation against
 other, with the termes of pestilent Pelagians, whe-
 ther those, whome they so accuse nowe to be Pela-
 gians, holde this error, or whether they themselues
 which woulde take some mote of error out of other
 mens eyes, haue not this *Pelagius* beame sticking fast
 in their owne, let they themselues be iudges, or let
 their owne doctrine iudge, both in print and prea-
 ching, whereof some parte shall be hereafter rehear-
 sed. Yea let all the worlde iudge, which haue hearde
 the doctrine of both parties: who they are that in
 this point ought worthily to be called Pelagians.

Crowley.

After Cerberus hath set downe in Latine certaine of
Pelagius errors, to y^e number of. xi. he repeteth y^e first in
 Englishe, that is, that Adam should haue dyed, though
 he had not sinned. And bycause his purpose is to proue
 that we are those that holde this *Pelagian* heresie: he

B.J.

under

An Apologie of Crowley

vnderstandeth Pelagius meaning to be, that sinne was not the cause of Reprobation, or casting away, but that death sprong out of Gods ordinaunce: And so at the last he concludeth, that Pelagius and we are all one in this point: for we teache the same doctrine. What moued Pelagius to teache that doctrine, I knowe not, neyther did I at any time so much as once thinke to holde or defende it. And I thinke I may be bolde to say in the name of all that haue witten or preached the doctrine that Cerberus misliketh: that not one eyther hath or will teache it. Although Cerberus doe boast, that hereafter some parte of our doctrine shall be shewed, whereby all men may be able to iudge that we are al one with Pelagius in this point. For mine owne parte I will put all men out of doubt, that I beleue, and haue, doe, and will (if God permit) teache, that if Adam had not sinned, he had neuer dyed. And that God did create man to be vnder destroyed. And that God made not death as the wise man writeth. But by one man sinne entred into the the worlde, and by sinne, death. And I can not see that any of my brethren haue or doe teache any other wise, either in witing or preaching. Wherefore Cerberus doth vs open wrong to ioyne vs with Pelagius in this error. As for the doctrine that I haue witten, and Cerberus wresteth to his purpose against me and my brethren: shall (by Gods helpe) be defended in the place where it is produced against vs.

Cerberus.

The seconde error which Austen rehearseth, is, that Adams sinne did onely hurt himselfe, and not the whole generation of man. This is an other vile and detestable error which Pelagius helde, that the sinne

sinne of Adam brought not miserie and death vpon all his posteritie, contrarye to the open Scripture, which sayth, that by the sinne of one, condemnation came vpon all men. And the holy man Esdras sayth: O Adam, what hast thou done? for though it was thou that sinned, yet thou arte not fallen alone, but all we that come of thee. *Roma. 5. 4. Esdr. 6.*

The third, depending also vpon the seconde, is this: That Infantes being newe borne, are in that state, that Adam was in, before his transgression, which error semeth onely, or chiefly to extende to the innocencie of children. For if his minde were, that in all pointes infantes were in Adames estate, then shoulde it be ouer brutishe. For who seeth not, that babes newe borne, suffer oftentimes payne and grieve, which Adam did not before his transgression. But to affirme, that Infantes are not borne and conceiued in sinne, is to denie Originall sinne, which is an olde and a diuelish error, and vtterly against the Scripture, which sayth plainly: Beholde, I was borne in wickednesse, and in sinne hath my mother conceyued mee. *Psalm. 51.*

Crowley.

In these two Articles can Cerberus finde nothing to burden vs withall. For we teache that by their first birth all Infantes are inheritous of that possession that our common father Adam purchased by his first transgression of sinne. That is, of bodily trauaile and miserie in this lyfe, and euerlasting death after this lyfe. And that euen as the children of bonde slaues, can enioy none other thing by birth than that bondage which their parents are in: so the children of Adam can by nature enioy

An Apologie of Crowley

for none other thing but that which belonged to their first father, who by his first transgression, made both himselfe and all his posteritie, bonde slaues to death, hell, the diuell and damnation. Well therefore we shall not be Pelagians in this point. But if I would deale as straightly with Cerberus, as he doth with Samuell: I could charge him with breaking of Priscians heade, in the seconde Article, where he writeth *deseret for lescrit*. Which though it be but a small fault, yet is it as great a fault as that which Cerberus maketh so much of in Samuels rymes. And the printers were to blame for both, I am sure. And therefore I would not y^e either Samuell or Cerberus, should beare any blame with them. Who so lusteth to conferre the copie of this aunswere which was first cast about in the streates of Londo, with this y^e is written in this Apologie: shall easely see that I haue amended many such faultes, without noting of them to any mans reproche.

Cerberus.

The fourth errour is, that neither by the death & transgressiō of Adā, all the generation of mā dyeth, nor that by the Resurrection of Christ, all the generation of man doth rise againe. I doe not vnderstande that *Pelagius* did here speake of the last Resurrection at the day of iudgement, as though he had, after the maner of the Saduceis, denied the Resurrection of our soules and bodies in the last daye, for then were all their disputation in vaine, of the manner how we shoulde be sayed, whether by the grace of God, or by the deseruing of man, if saluation or Resurrection had on either parte bene denied altogether. Neither doth the Scripture attribute the last
Resur.

Resurrection vnto Christ, as though the soules and bodies of men, shoulde haue died lyke beastes and not haue risen againe vnto iudgement, if Christ had not come. Yea no doubt, all men shoulde haue risen againe, and that to the iudgement of euerlasting damnation, if Christ had not come. But I vnderstande that *Pelagius* in this Article, denied the generalitie of Redemption by the death of Christ, by which we doe, as it were arise from death, bycause of the state of lyfe and saluation, wherevnto we are bought in Christ by Redemption, lyke as we were in the state of death and damnation in Adam by sinne. Not that any man is purged from the corruption of sinne, vnto the innocencie of Adam: but bycause the sinne is couered in Christ, and pardoned for his sake. And further here is to be noted, that the first parte of this error, is manifestly, the very same, which is in the seconde and thirde error, before rehearsed, and by the same Scriptures plainly condemned. But to make the latter part of this error more aparant, it was necessarie and thought good of Augustine, to rehearse the first againe: that by the comparison of condemnation in Adam, and Redemptiō in Christ, it might the more plainely be perceiued that Christ was not inferiour to Adam, nor grace inferiour to sinne. And that, as all the generation of man is, condemned in Adam: euen so is all the generation of man, Redemed in Christ. And as generall a Sauour is Christ by redemption: as Adam is a condemner by transgression. Which comparison is taken out of S. Paule his Epistle to the Romanes, where he saith. Likewise then as by the sinne of one, condemnation came vpon all men: euen so, by the iustifying of one, commeth the righteousnesse that

Roma. 5.

B. iij.

brin-

An Apologie of Crowley

bringeth lyfe vpon all men. Yet shall not all men be cōdemned by Adam eternally: for there is ordained of God againe, away vnto lyfe, which way is Christ. Neyther shall all be eternallye sauēd by Christ: for there is of God declared a waye againe vnto death, which waye is sinne, and the wilfull contempt of Gods mercy in Christ. But this appeareth to be one of *Pelagius* damnable errorrs: That Christ was not a generall Sauour, that Christ offered not vp the sacrifice of redemptiō for al the whole world, contrarye to the manifest Scripture which sayeth. He it is that obtayned grace for our sinnes, and not for our sinnes onely, but also, for the sinnes of the whole world. The same is also manifestly declared in these Scriptures folowing, and many other. *1. Iohn. 1. 4. 6. f. & 12. g. Ro. 5. d. & 14. c. 1. Cor. 8. d. 2. Cor. 5. c. Hebr. 2. c. & 2. d. 2. Pet. 1. a.* And here it is worthy to be noted againe, how iustly this errorr of *Pelagius*, reboundeth into the bosome of those, which so falsely accuse other to be guiltie in the Pelagians errorrs. Be indifferent, dearly beloved in the Lorde, I beseeche thee, and way the matter as it is. I desire no more.

Crowley.

When Cerberus hath framed this fourth Article of *Pelagius* to his purpose, and perswaded himselfe that it reboundeth into the bosomes of those that accuse him & his sort to be guiltie of *Pelagius* errorrs: he concludeth that he desireth no more, but that his dearly beloved: whose letter he aunswereth, woulde be indifferent and woulde waighe the matter as it is. Surely, if I maye doe any thing with the same partie, my hartie request to him shall be, that he wpll graunt Cerberus his request.
And

And further, I will be an humble suiter to all that shall reade this Apologie, that they setting all affection a side, will weighe both his aunswere, and this Apologie, even as they are, and none otherwise, & then haue I ynough also. The Article is, that all the generation of man, doth neyther die by the sinne and transgression of Adam, neither rise againe by the Resurrection of Christ. That is, that neither Adam was by his sinne, a generall condemner of himselfe and all his posteritie: neither Christ by his Resurrection, a generall restorer of all mankind. For so doth Cerberus interpret Pelagius meaning. I will not dispute about Pelagius meaning. For I know it coulde not be good, sith he denieth a truth, plainly affirmed by S. Paule and Cyprian both, as Cerberus hath truely affirmed vpon the seconde Article. But that S. Paule ment in that place, as Cerberus doth vnderstand him: I doe flatly denie. And will by Gods helpe proue, both by the Scriptures & iudgemēt of auncient writers. And that the matter I go about may be the more playne to the reader: I will first set downe in plaine wordes, what meaning Cerberus gathereth of those wordes of Paule. He gathereth, that Paule shoulde minde to teach by those wordes, that Christ restored as many, as Adam losse. Which gathering is very false, and that may be proued by the verie circumstance of the place it selfe. First, Paules purpose is, by comparing Christ with Adam, to shewe that as Adam was able by disobedience, to make himselfe and all his posteritie bonds slaues to Satan: so was Christ able by obedience, to deliuer the same from that bondage, and to make them the free children of God. Now for the manner of speache that he useth in comparing these two together, we muste beware that we vnderstande it not so, that we make Christ & Adam lyke in all pointes. For then shall we be enforced to graunt

Roma. 5.
4. E/dr. 8. 7

An Apologie of Crowley

graunt many inconueniences ; whereof thys is one. That as Adam lost himselfe by disobedience : so Christ restored himselfe by obedience. Wherof shoulde followe that filthy error of them that affirme that Christ dyed for his owne sinnes as well as for the sinnes of the people, contrary to the whole course of the Scriptures, which teache that he was without spotte of sinne, and therefore was able to satisfie to God y^e Father for Sinne. Another incōuenience is, y^e there shoulde be repugnācie betwene this place of Scripture & other, (wherein both S. Paule & our Saviour Christ, doe teache, that not all mankind, that is, not euery particular person of mankind, but a certaine elected and chosen number, are by Christ restored into y^e fauour of God) which thing may not be graunted. For in the Scripture there is no repugnance at all. And the thirde inconuenience shoulde be, that only original sinne, (that is y^e sinne that we haue of our parents, euen in our conception) is put away by the blood of Christ, and not our actuall sinne. So that we must eyther satisfie for that our selues, or else perishe, notwithstanding Christes death and sufferance. Which is such an inconuenience as cutteth of from Christ as many as dye not in Infancie, before they commit any actuall sinne. These inconueniences considered, we must seeke to finde another meaning in S. Paules wordes, when he compareth Christ with Adam, than that which the bare wordes seeme to giue. His meaning is not to make Christ lyke vnto Adam, but to preferre Christ before Adam, & to shewe that grace is more abundant in Christ, than sinne was in Adam. Which thing appeareth in Paules very wordes in the same chapter, where he saith.

Roma. 5.

Sed non sicut delictum ita est donū. Si enim vnus delicto multi mortui sunt: multo magis gratia Dei est donum, in gratia vnus hominis Iesu Christi, in plures abundauit. That is to saye.

But

But the gifte was not lyke vnto the sinne, for if many dyed by y sinne of one: much more hath the mercy & gifte of God, in the grace of one man Iesus Christ, abounded vnto many. If these wordes of Paule should be vnderstand of the number that were losse by Adam, and restored by Christ: then muste we graunt, y more were restored by Christ, than lost by Adam. For he saith that the grace or mercy hath abounded vnto moe. Which wordes, being vnderstand of y number restored, must be spoken in comparison, of the many that were lost by Adam: & so must it follow that moe were restored by Christ, than were lost by Adam. Which can not be, vnlesse we will saye that Christ restored moe than all. For Adam losse all. The meaning of Paule is therefore, that as y sinne of Adam being but one man, was a sufficient condemnation to himselfe and all his posteritie which are many: euen so, pea and much more was the grace or free mercy, and gift of God, in Christ being but one, a sufficient restitution of all the chosen Children of God, although y same were neuer so many. And that this is the meaning of Paule, doth well appeare by his wordes that follow in the same chapter, where he sayth. *Et non sicut per unum qui peccauit, ita & donum. Nam condemnatio quidem ex uno, in condemnationem: gratia autem ex multis delictis, in iustificationem. Si enim vnus delicto, mors regnauit per unum: multo magis, abundantiam gratie & donationis & iustitie accipientes, in vita regnabunt, per unum Iesum Christum.* That is to saye. And the gift is not so, as is that which entred in by one that sinned. For the condemnation came by one sinne, into condemnation: but the grace or free mercede, was of many synnes into righteousnesse. For if by the sinne of one man, death haue raigned, by the meanes of one man: much more, shall they which haue receiued abundance of free mercede or grace, and of the gifte and righteouse-

An Apologie of Crowley

nesse : raigne in lyfe, thoroow one, which is Iesus Christ. Here doth Paule plainly expresse his meaning. Which is, that they which haue receiued abundaunce of grace, and of the gyft and righteousnesse, are those many, that are restored by Christ Iesu, in whome, through the same Christ, lyfe shall raigne. Those are not the whole posteritie of Adam. For the same Paule sayth in the. xj. chapter of this Epistle, *Quod querebat Israel non est consecutus, electio autē consecuta est.* Israel hath not obtayned y thing that he sought for : but the election hath obtained. Meaning that the carnall Israelites obtained not righteousness, much lesse did y whole offspryng of Adā obtaine it. But the election, that is the elected and chosen children of God, whether they be of the stock of Israel or no, haue obtayned righteousness through Christ, which is forgiveness of al their synnes by his blood sheading, & righteousness, & cuerlasting lyfe by his resurrection. According to y saying of Paul, *Traditus est propter delicta nostra, & resurrexit propter iustificationē nostrā.* He was deliuered vnto death for our synnes : and he rose againe for our iustification.

Rom. 4.

But Cerberus and his fellows, do vrgē the vniuersall signe, *Omnes. All. Sicut per vnius delictum in omnes homines in condemnationem : sic & per vnius iustitiam in omnes homines, in iustificationem vitæ.* That is. Euen as by one mans fault, sinne entred into all men, to condemnation, so by the righteousness of one man, is righteousness entred into all men, to the iustification of lyfe. This vniuersall signe muste needes strecthe it selfe to all Adams posteritie, and therefore all muste be made righteous by Christ. These men will not see how suche vniuersall signes are vsed in the Scriptures. They can not perceiue how this vniuersall signe shoulde in the first sentence strecthe it selfe to all the generation of the firste Adam that sinned, and in the seconde sentence to all the genera

generation of the seconde Adam, which is Christ. The generation of þ first are all that haue oꝛ shall be boꝛne of fleshe and bloud, and the generation of the seconde, are al they that be boꝛne of God. If we shoulde in all places of Scripture, strecthe this vniuersall signe all, so farre as Cerberus doth strecthe it here: we shoulde make as good a piece of worke as þ Donne did, which reade in s. Paule *Omnia probate, proue all things*. And therefore hauing a minde to sir Iohn, the Chaplen of the house, she proued what it was to lye with a man. And being with childe, the matter came to the knowledge of the Abbas: she excused hir selfe by Saint Paule, who biddeth vs proue all things. If a theefe that taketh another mans goodes, shoulde excuse himselfe with *Omnia mihi licent*, I may doe all things, oꝛ *Omnia vestra sunt*. All things are yours: It would not be founde that these vniuersall signes should either make it lœful foꝛ him to take another mans goodes, oꝛ to haue right to that that is not hys by some iust title. I woulde wishe Cerberus and his fellowes therfoꝛe, to weigh this matter better befoꝛe they triumph ouer vs in such sort as he doth in this his aunswere. And I woulde wishe him to consider well whether saint Austen in the Epistle where these Articles of Pelagius be wꝛitten, do not wꝛite cleane contrary to this iudgement of his. Foꝛ in the very place that he citeth to make foꝛ his purpose, S. Austen sayth thus. *Infantes nuper nati, non sunt in illo statu in quo Adam fuit ante præuersionem, ut ad ipsos pertineat quod breuiter ait Apostolus. Per unum hominem mors, & per unum hominem resurrectio mortuorum. Sicut enim in Adam omnes moriuntur: ita & in Christo omnes uiuificabuntur. Unde fit, quod Infantes nō baptizati, non solum regnum cælorum, verum etiam vitam æternam habere non possint.* That is, Infantes that be lately boꝛne, are not in that state that Adam was befoꝛe he sinned, that that thing which the Apostle doth

1. Theß. 5.

1. Corin. 3.

1. Corin. 6.

1. Corin. 15.

An Apologie of Crowley

in felwe wordes affirme, might partaine vnto them. By one man came death, and by one man came the resurrection of the deade. For euen as in Adam all dye: so in Christ shall all be made alyue. Wherby it commeth to passe that Infants which are not baptised, are not onely vnable to enioye the Kingdome of Heauen, but also lyfe euerlasting. These wordes me think, are very plaine against that which Cerberus would maintaine by Paule and Austen. For if Infants unbaptised can not haue the kingdome of God nor euerlasting lyfe: how doth this saying *In Christo omnes uiuificabuntur*: All shalbe quickned in Christ: pertayne to all the posteritie of Adam: vnlesse he will say, that Infantes that dye before baptisme be not of Adams posteritie: Better matter can I not wishe for against Cerberus, than that which hangeth to the foundation that he himselte buildeth vpon. It were for my purpose to aduaunce the auctoritie of this Epistle, bicause it helpeth me very much against this Hel Dogge Cerberus: but bicause I woulde not haue the Reader to conceyue such an opinion of S. Austen, as to thinke that he shoulde be of such minde as the Auctour of thys Epistle doth shewe himselte to be in certaine pointes: I will cite the iudgement of Erasmus concerning thys Epistle & all other of this title. That is. *Ad Bonifacium. To Boniface. Speaking of y^e Booke of Epistles, wher in this Epistle. 106. is written, he saith. Nonnulli simpliciter conficta, quod genus sunt illa Bonifacii ad Augustinum, Augustini ad Bonifacium.* Some of those Epistles (saith he) are altogether fayned. As are those of Bonifacius to Augustine, and of Austen to Boniface. Now iudge gentle Reader what this Cerberus meaneth, that leauing the good and sounde woorkes of Austen, where he writeth very well of this matter: setteth his foundation vpon such rotten patches as some such as he is, haue put forth
in

in Austens name. No maruell though Cerberus be ashamed to set his name to his booke. This might suffice for our defence against Cerberus his assaulte in this point. But I will adde one Scripture or two, and so the iudgement of some learned writers, that he take not occasion of a new calumniatio, because I promised more than I haue yet performed. Saint Paule writing to Timothe in his second Epistle and seconde chapter, sayth thus. *Sed primum fundamentum Dei stat, habens signaculu hoc. Cognouit Dominus qui sunt sui.* The foundation of God, standeth firme and sure, hauing this sure scale. The Lorde knoweth who be his. By which wordes it is manifest, that S. Paule vnderstode not that all mankinde were elected in Christ, and so restored by Christ: but a certaine number, which though they be unknowne vnto men, yet doth the Lorde (whose they be) knowe them well, and will not suffer them, no nor any of them, to perishe. Wherefore he exhorteth all such as call vpon the name of the Lorde (that is all Christians) to depart from iniquitie. For in a great house (saith he) there be, not only vesselles of Golde and Siluer, but also of Timber and Earth: some to serue for honorable vses, and some for vile vses. I knowe how some doe wrest these latter wordes of S. Paule, to proue that it is in mans power to depart from iniquitie, because Saint Paule doth will Christians so to doe. And especially those wordes which followe, which are these. *Si quis ergo, emundauerit se ab istis, erit vas in honorem sanctificatum, & utile domino, ad omne opus bonum paratum.* If any man therfore, shall cleanse himselfe from these men: he shall be a vessel sanctified vnto honour, and profitable for the Lord, being prepared and made readie for euery good worke. These wordes do manifestly declare, say they, that it is in mannes power to cleanse himselfe, and to make himselfe a vessel meete for

C.iii.

the

An Apologie of Crowley

the Lordes vse and seruice . These men will not vnderstande that commaundements, admonitions, exhortations, and councelles be to any purpose : except those to whome they be giuen, be able to do the things, that they be commaunded, admonished, exhorted, or councelled to doe. And so shall the commaundements of God be to no purpose . For who hath bene, is, or shall be able, to doe that God commaundeth , when he sayth **T**hou shalt loue the Lorde thy God, with all thine heart, with al thy soule, and with all thy minde . And thy neighbour as thy selfe: Doth not **S**. Paule say that we are not able of our selues, so much as to think a good thought . And is not this according to y^e which Christ himselfe teacheth when he saith to his Disciples : without me ye can do nothing? But these men will not vnderstande that the vse of these things is, to cause the chosen children of God, to acknowledge their owne inhabilitie , and humblye to begge at Gods hande his helpe that therby they may doe y^e which is commaunded or taught : and that the reprobates may be without excuse, yea or pretence of excuse . Saint Austen , whome Cerberus woulde faine haue to take hys parte, doth vnderstande this place of Paule, cleane contrary to Cerberus his purpose: As appereth in moe places then one of his best writings . Namely in the. vii. chapter of the. xi. booke *De Ciuitate Dei*, that is of the Citie of God, (which is, the Church of Christ) where speaking of that Church called from among all the nations of the worlde : he saith thus. *Has enim elegit Deus ante mundi constitutionem erucere de potestate tenebrarum, & transserre in regnum filij claritatis sue, sicut Apostolus ait . Nam seducere illum gentes etiam nunc, & secum trahere in eternam penam, sed non predestinatas in eternam vitam, quis fidelis ignorat? Nec moueat, quod saepe Diabolus seducit etiam illos, qui iam regenerati in Christo, vias ingrediuntur Dei. Notit enim Dominus qui sunt eius, ex hijs*

2. Corin. 3.

Iohn. 15.

*De Ciuitate
Dei. lib. 22.
Cap. 7.*

in eternam damnationem, neminem ille secuncit. Sic enim nouit eos Dominus, ut Deus, quem nihil latet, etiam futurorum, non ut homo, qui hominem ad præsens videt, sic tamen videt, cuius cor non videt, qualis autem postea sit futurus, nec seipsum videt. Ad hoc ergo ligatus est Diabolus, & inclusus in abyſſo, ut iam non seducat gentes, ex quibus constat Ecclesia, quas antea seductas tenebat antequam esset Ecclesia. Nec enim dictum est, ut non seduceret aliquem: sed ut non seduceret, inquit, iam gentes, in quibus Ecclesiam proculdubio voluit intelligi. That is to say. God did before the beginning of the Worlde, chouse these nations, that he might deliuer them out of y^e power of darknesse, and translate them into the kingdome of the sonne of his owne brightnesse, as the Apostle sayth. For what saythfull man knoweth not, that the Deuill doth euen now, seduce nations, and draw them with himselfe into euerlasting paine: but not those nations which are predestinated into euerlasting lyfe? Neither let it trouble anye man, that the Deuill doth oftentimes seduce euen those, that being already regenerated in Christ, do walke in the wayes of God. For the Lorde knoweth who be hys: of them doth the Deuill seduce none, to euerlasting damnation. For the Lorde doth knowe them, as God knoweth, from whom nothing is hidde, no not of the things to come. Not as a man knoweth, who doth for the present time see a man, but yet so, as whose heart he seeth not, yea, he seeth not himselfe so, that he can tell what maner a man he himselfe shalbe hereafter. To this purpose therfore, is the Deuill bounde, and shut vp in darknesse: that he doe not now seduce the nations of whome the Church doth consist. Which nations he did before holde still in error, before the Church was. For it is not sayde, that he shoulde not seduce any man: but that he should not now seduce (sayth he) y^e nations, in which nations, no doubt he woulde haue the Church to be bnd.

An Apologie of Crowley

derstande.

This Booke was Austens owne without all doubt, and therefore, we maye be bolde to affirme that this is Austens minde, not only vpon this place of Scripture, but also vpon this matter, that is, that not all mankind, but a certaine chosen sort, are restored againe by Christ. And that none of those that are so restored, can perishe, although God doe sometime suffer them to fall.

August.
li. 5. de bapt.
capit. 27.

Againe, the same Austen writing against the Donatists, in his fift booke *De Baptismo*, that is of Baptisme, saith thus, in the. xxvij. chapter of the same Booke. *Numerus ergo ille iustorum, qui secundum propositum vocati sunt, de quibus dictum est, Novit dominus qui sunt eius: ipse est ortus conclusus, fons signatus, puteus aquae vivae, paradysus cum fructu pomorum. Ex hoc numero, quidam spiritaliter vivunt, & supereminentem viam charitatis ingrediuntur. Et quum praecoccupatum hominem in aliquo delicto, instrunt in spiritu lenitatis: intendunt ne & ipsi tententur. Et cum forte & ipsi praecoccupantur reprimuntur in eis aliquantulum, non autem extinguuntur charitatis affectus: rursusque resurgens & inardescens, priusmo cursui restituitur. Non enim dicere. Dormitavit anima mea praetadio, confirma me in verbis tuis. That is. That number therfore, of the righteous, which are called according to Gods purpose, concerning which it is sayde, that the Lord knoweth who they be that be his: is the same that is the fenced garden, the sealed fountaine, the pyt of springing water, and the paradise full of the fruite of Apples. Of this number there be some that lve spiritually, & walke in the excellent waye of charitie. And when they doe in the spirite of lenitie, instruct a man that is overtaken w any fault: they doe take good heede least they themselves be tempted also. And when it happeneth y any of them be overtaken: the affection of loue is some thing repressed in them, but it is not utterly quenched. And when*

it

it riseth againe, and waereth feruent: it is restozed againe to his olde course oꝝ rase. Foꝝ these men can saye. My soule did slomber foꝝ very wearinesse, do thou make mee strong in thy wordes.

And againe in the same chapter, Saint Austen saith thus. *Sunt etiam quidam ex eo numero, qui adhuc nequiter vivunt, aut etiam in heresibus, vel in gentiliū superstitionibus iaceant: & tamen etiam illic novit dominus qui sunt eius. Namq̃ in illa ineffabili præscentia Dei: multi qui foris videntur, intus sunt, & multi qui intus videntur, foris sunt. Ex illis ergo omnibus, qui, ut ita dicam, intrinsecus & in occulto intus sunt: constat ille hortus cōclusus, fons signatus, puteus aquæ vivæ, paradysus cum fructu pomorum.* That is. There be also some of that number, which doe yet live wickedly, either doe lye in Hereses oꝝ in y^e superstitions of the Heathen: and yet the Lorde doth even there knowe, who be his. Foꝝ in that unspeakeable foreknowledge of God: many that seeme to be without, are within, & many that seeme to be within, are without. That inclosed garden therefore, that sealed fountaine, that pyt of springing water, and that paradise of the fruite of Apples: doth consist of all those, that be inwardely & secretely within, if I may so speake.

And againe the same Austen saith in the .xlv. treatise upon John. *Et oves vocem eius audiunt, & proprias oves vocat nominatim. Habet enim nomina eorum scripta in libro vite. Proprias oves vocat nominatim: hinc dicit Apostolus. Novit Dominus qui sunt eius.* That is. And his sheepe heare his voice, and he calleth his owne sheepe by name. Foꝝ he hath their names witten in the Booke of Lyfe. He calleth his owne sheepe by name. Whereof commeth it that the Apostle sayth. The Lorde knoweth who they be that be hys.

What shoulde I cite any moe places of this Auctour foꝝ this purpose? If these will not satisfie Cerberus:

D.I.

let

August.

Tract. 45.

in Iohn.

An Apologie of Crowley

let him barke still tyll his throte be hoarse. I knowe these may satisfie all that be not wilfully blinde. For in thre seuerall places, S. Austen hath cited these wordes of S. Paule. (The Lorde knoweth who be his) euen in the same sence that I haue done.

One other Scripture I will cite also, which is written in the. xviij. of S. Johns Gospell. The wordes were spoken by our Sauour Christ himselte, in that Prayer that he made to his Father the night before he suffered, and they are these *Non pro mundo rogo, sed pro his quos dedi sti mihi, quia tui sunt.* I doe not praye for the worlde (sayth Christ) but for those that thou hast giuen vnto mee, because they be thine. And that Cerberus may know what is ment here by the worde *Worlde*: he shall see what S. Austen writeth in his. 107. treatise vpon John, concerning this text. *Mundum vult modo intelligi, qui viuunt secundum concupiscentiam mundi, & non sunt in ea sorte gratie, ut ab illo eligantur ex mundo: non utiq. pro mundo, sed pro his quos ei pater dedit, rogare se dicit. Per hoc enim quod eos illi pater iam dedit, factum est, ut non pertineant ad eum mundum, pro quo non orat. Deinde, subiungit. Quia tui sunt.* That is. He would now haue vs vnderstande, that those men be the worlde which doe liue according to concupiscence or luste of the worlde, and are not in that state of grace that they might be by him chosen out of the worlde: He doth not therefore say that he doth pray for the worlde, but for them that his father gaue vnto him. For by that, that his father hath already giuen them vnto him, it cometh to passe, that they pertaine not vnto that worlde, that he prayeth not for. And after this he addeth. Because they be thine. If Cerberus were not to obstinately blinde, he coulde not but see and confesse, that S. Austen is full against him. For what other cause doth S. Austen allcadge, why those that Christ prayde for, were not of the worlde, but onely, that

*August.
tractat. 107.
super Iob.*

that the Father had giuen them vnto him? And what cause doth he alleadge why Christ might not chuse them out of the worlde that he prayed not for: but onely that they were not in that state of grace or mercede, that they might be chosen out of the worlde? And the text it selfe, might perswade any man but Cerberus and his felowes, that there is a number that be not restored by Christ. For woulde Christ denie to praye for any of them that are restored by him? I trowe not.

But to bring Cerberus from Hell gate, if it will be: I will cite yet one place of S. Austen, wherein he speaketh as plainly as any man can deuise to speake, concerning this matter. In his first booke that he writeth of the deseruings, and forgiveness of sinnes, and of the baptism of Infants, we reade thus in the .xv. chapter.

Ob hoc etiam dictum est, omnes, & omnes: neque enim qui generantur per Adam, idem ipsi omnes, per Christum regenerantur, sed hoc recte dictum est, quia sicut nullius carnalis generatio, nisi per Adam: sic spiritalis nullius, nisi per Christum. Nam si aliqui possent carne generari non per Adam, & aliqui regenerari spiritu, non per Christum: non liquide omnes, siue hic, siue ibi diceretur. Eisdem autem omnes, postea multos dicit. Possunt quippe in aliquare, omnes esse qui pauci sunt. Sed multos habet generatio carnalis, multos & spiritalis, quamuis non tam multos haec spiritalis, quam illa carnalis. Veruntamen, quem admodum illa omnes habet homines: sic ista omnes iustos homines. Quia sicut nemo praeter illam hominem, sic nemo praeter istam iustum hominem, & in utraque, multi.

August, de
peccatorum
meritis &
remissione

After S. Austen had sayde, that it is not the only imitation of Christ, that can make a man righteous, but the free mercy which doth regenerate by the spirite, so is it not the imitation of Adam only that maketh vs sinners, but the punishment which engendreth by the flesh: he addeth the wordes aboue in Latine, which are in English thus. For this cause also, is it said, all, and all: for

D.ij.

not

An Apologie of Crowley

not the same all y are begotten by Adam, are by Christ regenerated. But this is well sayde, that euen as the carnall generation of no man, is otherwise than by Adā: so is the spirituall generation of no man otherwise than by Christ. For if there might be some men begotten in the fleshe, and not by Adam, and some men regenerated in the spirite, & not by Christ: we might not say plaine-ly all, either in the one place or in the other. And afterwarde, he doth saye, that the same all, are many: for in some certaine thing, those which are but fewe, may be all. But the carnall generation hath many, and the spirituall hath many also: although this spiritual haue not so many, as hath that carnall. But yet for all that, euen as that hath all men: so hath this all iuste men. For as without that, no man is a man: euen so without this no man is a iust man, and in eche of these are many.

Now let Cerberus and his fellowes, bark at Austen. For he hath made the same interpretation of S. Paules wordes, that I haue made before. Whereby it is manifest, that that Epistle that Cerberus buildeth vpon, is not Austens owne, but fained by some such as Cerberus is, and put forth in Austens name.

But because I promised before to proue mine affirmation as well by the iudgement of Auncient writers, as by Scripture: I will adde the iudgement of one or two moe, whose autozitie and antiquitie is not to be dispised. Of the which Ambrose shall be one. Writing vpon the Epistle to the Romans, he sayth, *Sicut per vnius delictum in omnes homines in condemnationem: sic & per vnius iustitiam in omnes homines, in iustificationem vitæ. Hoc est, sicut per vnius delictum, omnes condemnationem meruerunt, similiter peccantes: ita & in iustitia vnius, omnes iustificabuntur credentes. Si qui autem condemnationem hanc, generalem esse putant: simili modo & iustificationem generalem accipient. Sed non est verum*

Rom. 5.

verum, quia non omnes credunt. Sicut enim per inobedientiam
 unius hominis, peccatores constituti sunt plurimi: ita et per unius
 obedientiam iusti constituentur multi. Quos supra omnes dixit:
 hic plures & multos significat. Plures enim delictum Ada se-
 cuti sunt prauaricando, non omnes, & multi iusti constituentur,
 non omnes. Non ergo in eos regnauit mors, qui non peccauerunt in
 similitudine prauaricationis Ade. That is to say. Euen as
 by one mans sinne, guiltinesse came vpon all men to con-
 demnation: so did iustification of lyfe come vpon all mē
 through the righteousnesse of one man. That is, euen
 as by the sinne of one man, all men that doe sinne as he
 dyd, haue deserued condemnation: euen so all that do be-
 leue, shall be iustified in the righteousnesse of one man.
 And if any doe think that this condemnation is general:
 let them in lyke maner take the iustification to be gene-
 rall. But that is not true, bycause all men doe not be-
 leue. For euen as by the disobedience of one man, many
 were made sinners: so by the obedience of one man, ma-
 ny shall be made righteous. The Apostle doth here call
 those same, many, that he did before call, all. For many
 haue in sinning folowed the sinne of Adam, but not all:
 and many shall be made righteous, but not all. Death
 therefore hath not raigned ouer them, which haue not
 sinned in lyke sort as Adam did. These be the wordes of
 Ambrose. Which though at the first sight, they seeme to
 incline to the errour of Pelagius: yet when they be well
 welghed, they giue a good and sounde meaning. That is,
 that sinne neuer raigned in any of Gods elect. For al-
 though the elect of God, in as much as they be the childre
 of Adam, be partakers of Adams sinne, and in Adam
 condemned: yet are they by Christe deliuered from that
 condemnation, so that sinne hath in them no dominion
 at all; Which thing appeareth in them by the fayth in
 Christ, which when they come to knowledge, they doe

An Apologie of Crowley

both by wordes and workes declare . That this is the meaning of Ambros, doth very plainly appeare, by that he sayth, that all the beleuers shall be iustified. For what needeth iustification, where no condemnatiō was : Thus much I thought good to write concerning y^e simple meaning, of this auncient Father, least any mā of simplicity mistaking his meaning, might think y^e he should denie y^e Elect to be conceived and borne in origikall sinne, from which neuer any that was borne (Christ only excepted) coulde be free. But this is his meaning, that in the Elect and chosen Childzen of God, this sinne hath no dominion, as it doth appeare by their obedience that they shewe in beleuing the Gospell : but in the Reprobates, it beareth rule still : For Christ hath not killed it in them.

And to make an ende of this matter : Saint Paule sayth thus in his eyght chapter to the Romans . Who shall laye any thing to the charge of Gods Elect : It is God that doth iustifie, who is it that shall condemne : If all mankinde, then, be elected in Christ (as Cerberus sayth) then shall no sinne be layde to any mans charge. For who dare accuse Gods chosen childzen : And so shall Cerberus doctrine be the destruction of all vertue, as he hath afore affirmed of the doctrine we teache of Predestination.

As for that which Cerberus citeth out of the seconde chapter of S. Johns first Epistle, & the other places that he sendeth the Reader vnto : I doe nowe passe ouer, as sufficiently aunswiered, by that I haue written concerning S. Paules meaning in the first to the Romans.

Cerberus.

The first of Pelagius errors was, that riche men being baptized, except they did vterly renounce and forsake their riches, though they seeme to doe some good,

good, yet is it not accepted, neither can they haue the Kingdome of God. A filthy, and an abhominable errour, directly repugnant, both to the state of the common wealth, and also to the worde of God, which sayth. Charge them that be riche in this world, that they be not exceding wyse &c. And that they doe good and be riche in good workes. &c. *1. Timoth. 6.*

The sixt errour is, that the grace of God and the helpe of God, is not giue to euery one of our works, but that it is in free choyse, in the lawe, and in doctrine. This errour is exceding wicked and execrable, that mā by the law, by doctrine, and by free choise, is able to doe any maner of good worke, whatsoeuer it be, without the grace and helpe of God. For as S. Paule sayeth, we are not sufficient of our selues, to think any thing, as of our selues: but our ablenesse cometh of God. And againe. It is God that worketh in vs, both the will and the dede, euen of good will. *2. Corinths. 3. Phillip. 2.*

The seuenth errour is, that the grace of God is giuen according to our deseruing. Vile and abhominable is this errour also, and contrary to the manifest minde and words of the Apostle, which sayth. If it be of workes, then is it no more grace, for then were deseruing, no more deseruing. *Rom. 11. 27.*

The eyght errour is, that none can be called the children of God, except they be all together made without sinne. This errour is lyke wicked with the rest, directly repugnant to the open Scripture, where it is written. If we say we haue no sinne, we deceiue our selues, and the truth is not in vs. For as S. Iames saith of himselfe and of all other. In many things we sinne all. *1. Iohn. 1. Iacob. 3.*

Crowley.

Dittj.

34

An Apologie of Crowley

In these foure errors, Cerberus can finde nothing to charge vs with all: and therfore he goeth about to get himselfe crepited among the simple Christians, by calling these errors, filthy, and abhominable, exceeding wicked and creccrable, vile and abhominable, and lyke wycked with the reste. But if a man might come to reason with Cerberus: I thinke it woulde fall out in the ende, that he is not so cleare of the first error as he woulde seeme to be, when he calleth it exceeding wicked and creccrable. For if he were asked: why feared he to translate Saint Pauls words, according to his meaning, when he saide to the Philippians. *Deus est qui operatur in vobis & velle & perficere, pro bona voluntate.* That is. It is God, that worketh in you, both the will and the performance therof, according to his good will or pleasure. Cerberus can not away with Gods good will. And therfore he translateth Saint Pauls wordes, euen of good will. He feareth, by like, that some man woulde conclude, y it is Gods good will, that by such malicious doings, as his is, in strowing of his slanderous writings: some of them that be slandered therby, shoulde take occasion to open hys subtiltie, both in the detesting of these errors, and also in the crying of Scriptures to the contrary of that which is affirmed in them. Which is nothing else, but to blinde the eyes of the simple. But such as haue had to doe with such as he is, do knowe, that as he saith here, that man is not sufficient of himselfe to thinke any thing, so he thinketh, and wyl say if he be byged, that man hath power of himselfe to withstande the good motions of Gods holy spirit, so that God can not ordeyne such as he will, but only such as he findeth willing to be ordeyne. And to auoide the error of giuing of grace according to merites or deserving, he sayth that it is giuen to all mankinde indifferently. Let all men therfore, beware of his subtiltie: for

he

Phillip. 2.

he mindeth to disceue.

Cerberus.

The ninth errour is, that there is no free choyse, if a man haue neede of Gods helpe, seing it is in a mans owne will to doe a thing, or not to doe it. This was also the wicked opinion of *Pelagius*: that if it be graunted, that a mā hath neede of Gods helpe: then muste it needes followe (saith *Pelagius*) that he hath no choise in doing of things, but whatsoeuer a man doth, that must he needes, and cannot choose but do. This is the Deuils only way, aboue all other to leade men to distruction, not to suffer them to walke in the playne path of the Lorde, but to turne them to some extremitie, either on the left hande, or else on the right, either into the blinde path of crooked superstition, or into the wyde way of leude libertie, either to seeke iustification by deseruing of workes, or by an only fayth, not mightie in loue by operation. Such lyke extremitie doth the Deuill vse in this point of Doctrine, either driuing men into the doubting dreames of destenie, or into the absolute freewill of Papistrie. Either affirming all things so to be ordeyned of God, that whatsoeuer a mā doth, be it good or euill: he muste needes, and can not choose, but of meere necessitie, by the ordinaunce of God, commit the same. Or else affirming, that man by freewill, or naturall strength, can do the wil of God, and walke in his lawe without the continuall helpe and grace of God. Which two extremities, Austen doth very plainly condemne, in these words folowing.

*Liberum sic confitemur arbitrium, vt dicamus nos semper Dei
E.i. indigere*

An Apologie of Crowley

indigere auxilio, & tam illos errare qui eum Manicheos dicunt hominem peccatum vitare non posse, quam illos qui cum Ioviniano asserunt, hominem non posse peccare. Augustinus de verbis Apostoli, sermone. 192.

We doe (sayth he) so confesse free choise, that we saye a man hath alwaye neede of the helpe of God. And that as well they erre, which saye with *Manicheus*, that a man can not elchewe sinne, as also they which saye with *Iovinian*, that a man can not commit sinne. Thus sayth Augustine.

To conclude therefore, this is numbred among the wicked errours of *Pelagius*, that if a man haue free choise, then hath he no neede of the grace or helpe of God, contrarye to the manifest and open Scripture, which sayth by the mouth of S. Paule. I can doe all things, through the helpe of Christ, which strengthneth mee. And *Esdras* saith. They that haue abhorred my lawe, whilst they had yet freedome and open rounge of amendment, and conuersion, and vnderstoode not but dispised it: the same must knowe it after death, in paine.

And here, yet once againe, I desire thee to marke who they are, which with *Pelagius* fall into this extremitie to affirme, that if a man haue choise, then hath he no neede of Gods helpe: or if he haue neede of Gods helpe, then hath he no choise at all. And who they are, which on the other side, with *Austē* against *Pelagius*, do affirme and cōfesse: that man so hath freedom or choise, that neuerthelesse, he hath cōtinually, neede of the helpe & grace of God. Who they are, I say, which in this point also, ought worthily to be called *Pelagians*, let all men iudge. The case is so clere, that no lack of knowledge, but onely wilfull blindness,

nesse, may helpe to cloke the matter. I will therfore passe forward.

Crowley.

Nowe Cerberus thinketh he hath sworne the selfe. This case is so plaine (sayth he) that no lacke of knowledge may helpe to cloke it, but wilfull blindnesse. And what is the case. Forsooth that he and his fellows be cleared of Pelagian heresie: and 3 and my fellows persuaded to be of one minde with Pelagius, who sayde that if a man haue choise, he needeth not Gods helpe: or if he neede it, he hath no choise at all. And where hath Cerberus founde that Pelagius sayde so: Not in the ninth Article, written in the 106. Epistle (for there he sayth but thus, If our will or choise, haue neede of the help of God it is not free: for by free choise, every man hath in his owne will, either to doe any thing, or to leaue it vndone) but he findeth it in the. 191. Sermon *De tempore*, that is, of the time. Not as the wordes or opinion of Pelagius, but as the wordes of Manichæus. Here is pretie packing. To make blinde men beleue, that there is no difference betwixte Pelagius opinion in his ninth Article, and vs that now write and preache of the eternall predestination of God: Cerberus byingeth out one of the opinions of Manichæus, and saith, that soasmuch as we agree with him in that point, and he and his fellows doe not, therefore, we be Pelagians, and he and his companie are enemies to Pelagius and vs so. But as Cerberus hath requessed his friends, whome he answereth: euen so must I desire thee (gentle Reader) yet once againe to marke how Cerberus handleth his matter, that he may seeme to purge himselfe and to charge mee and other with Pelagian heresie.

An Apologie of Crowley

I will not deale with Cerberus, as he hath done with Samuel: for if I would, I might say that he had shamefully belyed S. Austen, when he citeth his wordes out of his. 192. Sermon *De verbis Apostoli*, y is, vpon the wordes of the Apostle, whereas saint Austen writeth but. 35. sermons of that title. Neyther are the wordes that he citeth found in the. 192. sermon *De tempore*, that is, of the time: but in the. 191. But as I haue promysed before, I will ascribe all such things to the negligence of the Printer, although ther be iust cause to ascribe this to Cerberus him selfe. For it appeareth by the copie that came to my handes, that he had read it ouer after it was imprinted, and before it was strowed in the streates: for he hath emended some faultes wyth his pen, but this fault remaineth vntouched. Wherefore it seemeth that he toke it for no fault at al. Wherof I gather that he neuer read the place in S. Austen him selfe, but had it in some of the patrons of Pelagius errour, and had no leysure to seeke it in S. Austens workes, and therefore mistoke both the title and number. Which if Cerberus might fynde in me, should be a matter of some thing.

Well, to the purpose. Cerberus hath belyed both Pelagius and vs. For he saith that we affirme, that if man haue choyse, then hath he no neede of Gods helpe, or if he haue neede of Gods helpe, then hath he no choyse at all. Let vs see the wordes that are written in the Epistle. 106. euen as saint Austen (if that Epistle be his) wrote them in Latin. *Et non esse liberum arbitrium, si Dei indiget auxilio, quoniam in propria voluntate habet vnusquisque, facere aliquid, vel non facere.* Nowe let vs see howe Cerberus him selfe doth english this Latin. The ninth errour (sayth he) is, that there is no free choyse, if a man haue neede of Gods help, seeing it is in a mans owne wil to do a thing, or not to do it. Now how agreeth this with y which he chargeth Pelagius

Pelagius withall: Hath Pelagius sayde that man hath no choyse at all: And can man haue no choyse at all, but lesse the same be free to do what it listeth: I thinke all men do see that he chargeth Pelagius with more than euer he spake or wrote in this poynt. And as touching the former part of his Article, which being truly translated, are thus much. And y^e choyse is not free, if it haue neede of Gods helpe. And ho is able to speake against this: Understanding *Liberty*, or free, to signifie that which is not vnder the power of any other. And I trowe saint Austen wyll say no lesse in the .13. sermon that he wrote *De verbis Apostoli*, of the wordes of the Apostle. Thus sayth saint Austen. *Cum dico tibi, sine adiutorio Dei nihil agis, nihil boni dico. Nam ad mala agendum, habes sine adiutorio Dei, liberam voluntatem, quamquam non est illa libera. A quo enim quis diuictus est, hic et seruus additus est. Et omnis qui facit peccatum, seruus est peccati. Et si vos filius liberauerit, tunc veri liberi eritis.* What is to say. When I say vnto thee, that thou dost nothing without the help of God: I meane, no good thing, for thou hast a free will to doe euill without the helpe of God, although the same be not free. For looke of whom a man is overcome, to y^e same is he made a slave, and euery one that doth commit sinne, is become the seruant of sinne. And if the sonne shall make you free, then shall ye be free in deede.

Nowe if Cerberus will conclude that Pelagius denieth that man hath any choyse, because he sayth, it is not free, if it haue neede of Gods helpe: then let him so conclude vpon saint Austens wordes in this place. For he sayth that mans wil is not free, no not in doing euill. For it is subiect vnto sinne, and can not but obey that tyrant. And shall we thinke then that saint Austen woulde saye that it is free in doing good: I thinke not. For he hath sayd that in that which is good, we can do nothing with-

An Apologie of Crowley

out Gods helpe.

But least Cerberus shoulde take a newe occasion to calumniate, because S. Austen doth often tymes graunt that he denieth not the freedome of mans will, and so set Austen agaynst Austen : I will in fewe wordes shewe howe both saint Austen and we, do vnderstande mans will, both to be free, and not free.

As mans will is not regenerated, so is it free from y^e spirit, and bonde to that corruption that entred into all mankinde by the spaine of the first man, which corruption saint Paule calleth the lawe of the members, the wisdom of the flesh, the olde man and the flesh, so that it cannot once lifte vp it selfe to any thing that is not agreeing to that corruption.

Contrariwise, man that is regenerate, so farre as he is regenerate, hath his will, freed, and set at libertie, fro that corruption, so that it cannot leade him further than the spirite of God will suffer him to goe, for he is nowe freed from corruption or sinne, and made the bondman of y^e spirit, so that he hath now in that regenerated parte, no delite in anie other thing than the lawe of God. And he cannot haue anie delite in sinne. But as sainte Paule sayth. As touching my inward man, I haue a delite in the lawe of God. And agayne. Such as are ledde by the spirite of God, are the children of God. They are therefore called spirituall, and newe creatures.

Agayne, as man is a reasonable creature, so is his will called *Arbitrium*, that is, Choyse, and because the same cannot be enforced by any humane or mans power, it is called *Liberum*, that is, Free. And so is it *Liberum Arbitrium*, Free Choyse. For though man haue power ouer mā to restraine y^e actiōs of his will, yet hath he not power to restraine the will it selfe. As for example. Simion, being imprisoned in Egypte, had a will to be with his
Father

Rom.7.

Rom.8.

Genes.42.

Father and brethren in the land of Canaan, not with-
 standing that his body was kept in prison and restrained
 of libertie to execute his will. For Joseph had no power
 upon the wil to turne it, or restraine it. But Simion had,
 yea, he could not but haue his will at libertie, not with-
 standing any thing that Joseph eyther dyd or could de-
 uise to doe. For to turne or stape the will of man, is the
 worke of God only. And therefore S. Paule sayth. I haue
 planted, & Apollo hath watred, but God gaue y increase. *1. Corinth. 3.*
 And S. Austen sayth. *Qui plantat, & qui rigat, for in seculis ope-*
ritur: qui vero dat incrementum, intrinsecus opitulatur. He that *De verbis*
 planteth, and he that watereth, do worke outwardly: but *Apost.*
 he that giueth increase, doth help or succour with in forth. *Ser. 4.*
 And this is not done by any bodily force, but by that in-
 ward drawling that Christ speaketh of whē he sayth. No
 man commeth vnto me, excepte my Father drawe him. *Iohn. 6.*
 This drawling is not a forcible drawling: but a wor-
 king of the power of God, whereby the will that strone
 agaynst, is made ready to follo w the drawer. An exam-
 ple wherof we haue in Paule. Who willing to goe to *Act. 9.*
 Damasco to persecute Christians, is by a sodaine made
 willing to preach Christ. This was not wrought by the
 striking him downe to the grounde (for then shoulde the
 lyke haue bene wrought in the Jewes that came to take
 Christ, for when he sayde, I am, they al fel to the ground) *Iohn. 18.*
 but it was wrought within by the power of the spirite.
 Saint Augustine therefore, sayth very well. *Qui fecit te*
sine te, non te iustificat sine te: Ergo fecit nescientem, iustificat
volentem. He that made thee without thee, doth not iusti-
 fie thee without thee, therefore he made thee, when thou
 knewest not: but he doth iustifie thee being willing.
 To this doe the wordes of Saint Paule agree when
 he sayeth. *Deus est qui operatur in vobis & velle, & operari.* *Phil. 2.*
 It is God that worketh in you both the will and the
 worke

An Apologie of Crowley

who that is according to the will. But first the will, so that before we follow the drauer, we are by the same drauer made willing to follow. Thus doth S. Austen, and so doe we (that Cerberus barketh so at) vnderstand the will of man to be free.

De verbis
Apost.
Ser. II.

To conclude this matter and to see what mans free will is able to doe: see what S. Austen sayeth. *Creatus est primus homo in natura sine culpa, in natura sine vitio, creatus est rectus, non se fecit rectum. Quid se autem ipse fecerit, notum est. Cadens e manu Figuli, fractus est. Regbat enim eum ipse qui fecerat, voluit deserere a quo factus erat, permisit Deus tanquam dicens. Deserat me, & inueniat se, & miseria sua probet, quia nihil potest sine me. Hoc modo ergo ostendere voluit Deus homini, quid valeat liberum arbitrium sine Deo.* The first man was created in nature without blame, in nature without fault, he was created upright, he did not make himselfe upright. It is knowne what he made himselfe. Falling out of the hande of the Potter, he was broken. For he y made him did gouerne him, but he was willing to forsake him that had made him. And God suffered him so to doe, as it were saying thus. Let him forsake me, that he maye finde himselfe, and that he maye by his miserie proue, that without me he can doe nothing. By this meane therefore would God shewe vnto man: what free will is able to doe without God. This maye suffice to as many as will be satisfied. But I feare me that Cerberus and his felowes are none of them.

By this it appeareth that we runne not into the extremities as Cerberus sayth we doe. For we neyther teache fatall destinie, nor popishe will libertie, but we affirme that man hath a choyse, and that in some meaning the same is free, and yet notwithstanding, Gods foreshewledge, predestination, and election, to be infallible. As shall more playnely appeare when I shall come to the place

place wherein I am by Cerberus charged with the setting forth of such a doctrine as is worthily myself liked of many.

In the meane while I must say something of y^e wherein I with others be charged and playnely affirmed to be Pelagiās. And that it may appeare whether we be so or no: it shall be needfull that we set downe the opinion of Pelagius, as we finde it written by S. Austen in a booke of more authoritie than is that Epistle that Cerberus buildeth vpon.

Saint Austen being requested by one named *Quodvult Deus*, to write a Cataloge of heresies: he satisfieth his request. And thus he writeth of Pelagius heresie. *Pelagianorum est hæresis hoc tempore omnium recentissima, à Pelagio Monacho exorta. &c.* At this time (sayth he) there is the heresie of the Pelagians, which is the newest of all, and sprang out of one Pelagius, a Monke. Which maister one Celestius did in such sorte followe, that their followers are also called Celestines. These men are such enemies to the grace of God (whereby we are predestinated to be adopted or chosen to be his children through Iesus Christ, and whereby we are deliuered from the power of darkness, that we may beleue in him, and be translated into his kingdome, for which cause he sayd: No man cometh vnto me except it be giuen vnto him of my Father: and whereby, Charitie is poured out in our hearts, that sayth may worke by loue) that they beleue, that man is able without it, to do all the commaundements of God, whereas if that were true, it might seeme that the Lord had in vaine sayde, *Sine me nihil potestis facere.* Without me, you can do nothing.

Whether we be of this mind with Pelagius or no: let all the world that seeth our writings or heareth our doctrine, iudge. Or whether Cerberus and his fellows be

F. J.

like

An Apologie of Crowley

like to be of this minde, which finde fault with our doctrine, bycause we teach that there is an elected and chosen number to whome God hath giuen sayth, and hath poured out loue in their hearts, so that they maye come vnto Christ, and by their woꝝks of obediẽce to Gods wil, shew forth the liuely sayth in Christ, that in their election they haue receyued fræly at Gods hand.

Let all the woꝝlde, I say, iudge betwixte vs. We say that there is a certayne chosen number, which in mercy are chosen to be the children of God, images of the sonne of God Iesus Christ, and inheritoures of his kingdome. And that none can be of this number, but those onely to whome it is giuen fræly without any maner deseruing, eyther past, present, or to come. And that they being thus chosen & predestinated, must alwayes acknowledge, that it is God that woꝝketh in them, and that of them selues they are not able so much as to think a good thought. And yet assure them selues, that Hell gates can not preuayle agaynst them, that is, that the power of the Diuell shall not be able to hurte them. And that though they be still soꝝe assaulted, and sometymes soꝝe wounded: yet they shal neuer be ouercome, but shal ouercome in Christ, and triumph with him in immortalitie foꝝ euer.

But Cerberus and his company, say that al mankind is elected, and that there is no reprobation at all, and consequently, no election. Foꝝ if there be none refused, then is there none election, but a generall acceptation. And this their election they say is so vncertayne, that no man can thereby be certaine of his saluation, but al men must still remayne in doubte of damnation by sinne, whereas S. Paule hath sayde, that there is no damnation to them that be grafted into Christ. And Christ himself saith, that it is not possible that the elected soꝝte shoulde be seduced. They say also that the power of mans Freewill is to receyue

Rom.8.

Math.24.

ceine or refuse the grace of God which is indifferently offered vnto al. Which if it be true, then must he be able also of himselfe to do that God commaundeth, which is the playne errour of Pelagius. Well, I leaue these two opinions to the iudgement of the reader, to consider which of them is most like to be that which Pelagius helde.

But to giue a little more light to the Reader, I wyll note one sentence more out of that that S. Austen writeth concerning the heresie of Pelagius. *Illam vero gratiam Dei, sine qua nihil boni possumus facere, non esse dicunt nisi in libero arbitrio, quod nullis suis præcedentibus meritis, ab illo accipit nostra natura, ad hoc tantum ipso adiuuante per suam legem atq; doctrinam, ut discamus, quæ facere, & quæ sperare debeamus. Nos autem ad hoc per donum spiritus sancti, ut quæ didicerimus esse facienda faciamus.* That is. They say (sayth Austen) that the grace of God, without which we are able to do no good thing, is not otherwise than in Freewill, which our nature hath receyued of him, not by any deservings that was in the same before, he only helping vs herebnto by his law and doctrine, that we may learne what we ought to do, and what to hope for. But we say to this, that through the gift of the holy Ghost, we may do those things that we haue learned to be meete to be done. Here it is playne, that Pelagius maketh the grace of God nothing else but an helpe to the Freewill of man. Whether Cerberus and his fellows do so or not, let the iudge that reade his words that are written in his aunswere to this letter, and do weygh them with indifferent mindes.

Now as touching that place that Cerberus citeth out of the sermon *De tempore*, that is of the time. 191. Although I knowe what Austen himselfe writeth of all his Epistles and his sermons, saying that he had not perused or retracted the when he set forth his two bookes of Retractions, neither doeth it appeare in any of his writings,

*Retract. 2.
in fine.*

f. y.

that

An Apologie of Crowley

Vide. Lib. 2.
De pecc. me-
ritis & re-
miss. Cap. 6. 7.

that euer he did retract them: Yet I will not reiecte it as none of Austens wordes, for the doctrine is sound if it be rightly vnderstande. It is possible for man by the power of God to be preserved from Actuell sinne, although he can neuer be without the sinne of concupiscence so long as he liueth in mortall flesh. So is it possible also, yea it can not be chosen, but vnlesse God doe by his grace staye man, he shall commit Actuell sinne after his regeneration, and of him self man is not able to stay him self from it. But what make Austens wordes against vs? We confesse with Austen, that man hath alwayes neede of Gods helpe, and we say with the same Austen, that they do erre, which say that man can not auoyde sinne, but yet as I haue sayd before, being stayed by the power of God. For otherwise these wordes of Austen should be contrary to his owne wordes in his. 13. sermon *De verbis Apostoli*, Of the wordes of the Apostle. Where he sayeth thus. *In hoc agone cum conflagimus, Deum habemus spectatorem, in hoc agone cum laboramus, Deum poscimus adiutorem. Si enim nos ipse non adiunxit, non dico vincere, sed nec pugnare poterimus.* That is. When we fight in this battayle, we haue God to behold and loke vpon vs, when we are in daunger in this battayle, we do pray vnto God to helpe vs. But if he do not helpe vs, I say not that we shall not ouercome, but that we shall not be able so much as to fight.

We wil not therefore set Austen against him self, but take that meaning of his wordes in one place, that may agree with his wordes in another place. And so are we with Austen, and not against him, as Cerberus layeth to our charge. Neyther do we holde with Pelagius in any vnt ruth, but if he do in any poynt confesse truth, then do we agree with him, although S. Austen shoulde say to the contrary. Loke better vpon your conclusion therefore (good master Cerberus) and learne to apply Scriptures

tures better than you haue applied the words of S. Paul to the Phillippians, else men will say ye vnderstand not S. Paule, for S. Paule doth not there goe about to ascribe any thing to the power of his owne free will: but altogether to set forth the exceeding great mercy of God towards him who did stay him from falling both in aduersitie and in wealth. As it may well appeare to al that will with iudgement reade the place. *Phil. 4.*

Your sentence also cyted out of Esdras: you shoulde knowe it not to be of such authoritie, that it might serue in the triall of such a cause as this is. But graunt it were of the greatest authoritie. What can it make against vs which deny not that man hath a choise which in some sort is free (as I haue declared) but do cōfesse that man which despiseth the warnings and long sufferings of God in this life, shall after this life, in paynes learne to vnderstand what they did then. But proceede as you sayde you would. *4. Esdr. 9*

Cerberus.

There followeth the tenth, and the eleauenth errors, which are these: That our victorie commeth not of Gods helpe, but of free choise, and that remission of sinnes is not giuen to the that repent, according to the grace and mercy of God, but according to the deseruing and labor of them, whych by repentaunce are worthy of Gods mercy. O blasphemie intollerable, O filthy puddle, and sincke moste execrable: full of stinking errors, full of damnable presumption, like to the pride of Lucifer moste abominable: the detestable vilenesse whereof is such, that rather by exclamation, I haue thought it good to renounce it, than with Scripture or reason to confute it.

An Apologie of Crowley

fute it. All reason, and all Scripture, gyueth all glory vnto God. And this blasphemous error, taketh awaye all the glorye of al goodnesse, from the father of all mercy, and God of al consolation, and gyueth it vnto vile and wretched man, which hath of him selfe nothing that is good, but doeth altogether receiue it from the mercy and goodnesse of God. Here concludeth Austen wyth the errorrs of *Pelagius*, and sayth, that all these errorrs he reuoked, or renounced in the generall Counsell of Palestine.

Crowley.

I haue not swozne to finde faulte with all that Cerberus writeth in this his aunswere, as it may seme that he hath, to reprove and depaue, all that I and other that haue, or do write or speake of Gods predestination, do or haue affirmed. I will therefore ioyne with Cerberus in this detestling and renoucing of these Pelagian errorrs, as one that doth abhorre them no lesse than he doth. And bicause man can see no further than these things that be outward: I do with all mine heart wish that he would make it knowen vnto men by such meanes as maye be most to his gloze: whether we, or Cerberus and his felowes do in h heart detest and abhorre these errorrs most. I will not enter into iudgement: but there is cause to suspect that Cerberus and his sorte be not so cleare, as by these wordes they would seme to be. But let God be Judge.

Cerberus.

Thus haue I set forth in Englyshe these errorrs of *Pelagius* together, that thou which art willing to knowe

knowe the truth, and vnderstande the matter euen as it is, mayest be able to iudge, who they are that holde of any of these errors, and not to credit the malice of certaine, whych to cloke their owne false opinions, accuse other to be Pelagians, who in dede, from their verie heart and soule, abhor al these wicked opinions, and haue bene manye yeares willyng to bestow their lyues against all these abhominable errors.

Yet is there one thing whervnto *Pelagius* was compelled to subscribe, whiche I haue not rehearsed among the errors afore sayde, bicause the deniall therof, is of all our Gospellers (as I suppose) receyued for no error. The Article is this. *Quod Infantes non baptizati, non solum regnum cælorum, verum etiam vitam æternam habere non possint.* Herevnto did *Pelagius* subscribe. That infantes whiche are not baptised, can not haue the Kingdome of God nor eternall lyfe. Which cruel opinion, that all vnbaptised children are damned, Austen in manye places of hys workes doth boldly and vehemently mayntayne. But Calvin sayth, *Explorendam esse illorum glossam palam est, qui oēs non baptizatos, æternæ morti adiudicant.* It is cleare (sayth he) that theyr glose is worthy wyth hissing or clappng of handes, to be driuen out of the dores: which condemne vnto euerlasting death, all those, whych are not baptised, & bicause Calvin is with so many of vs, whych are Gospellers, in auctoritie fully sufficient to encounter with Austen: I thynke it good (for shortnesse) in this article to say no further.

Crowley.

Cerberus, minding to enter into that which he promysed

An Apologie of Crowley

fed before (that is to shewe what part of our doctrine he mistaketh) doeth conclude with his friende to whome he seemeth to write this aunswere: as though he being willing to know the truth, and vnderstande the matter, coulde no more gyue credit to anye that writeth or speaketh contrary to that which he hath here written. Whose doyngs therein, it pleaseth him to terme malice, and the accusing of such as are of sound beliefe, that thereby they may cloke their owne false opinions.

But if it shall please that friend of his (if any such be) or Cerberus himselfe, to reade this my simple Apologie with indifferent mindes: it maye be that they will be of another minde then Cerberus doth in thys aunswere shewe himselfe to be, vnderstanding that oure doyngs are neither malicious, nor yet the clockings of anye false opinions, but the true trauaile of them that seke the glory of God, and the saluation of his people, by the setting forth of the truth of his eternall and euerlasting Predestination. Let God gyue the increase at hys good wyll and pleasure.

Yet one thing he woulde not seme to haue forgotten, but rather of purpose to haue deferred to thys place, that he might not seme to agree with Pelagius in any point that might seme to be erroneous. For he hath said before, Here concludeth Austen with the errours of Pelagius. Subtillye handled of Cerberus. For though he consent to that which Pelagius hath by his subscription confirmed: yet he agreeth not with Pelagius in his error, for he was inforced thus to subscribe, & did afterwarde returne to his olde errours againe, as S. Austen affirmeth in his Cataloge of heresies. And if he denye it, yet consenteth he not to Pelagius error: but to Iohn Calvin, and vs Gospellers, and to make vs beleue that he is one of vs in this point: he calleth that a cruel opinion that

that Pelagius was constrained to subscribe vnto, that is, that Infantes which are not baptised can not haue the kingdome of God, no: eternall lyfe. And to knit by the knot withall, he setteth Iohn Calvin against S. Austen, affirming, that for as muche as in the opinion of verie many of vs Gospellers (for now Cerberus is one of vs) Iohn Calvin is in authoritie fully able to encounter with S. Austen: he will for shortnesse sake, say no further of this article. I woulde I had none occasion here to thinke y Cerberus bleseth a figure, which learned men cal *Ironia*. For what a frumpe is this? That Calvin is in authoritie fully sufficient, to encounter with Austen. Surely Cerberus may be a Gospeller, as he tearmeth him selfe: but no Papist could deuise to giue a more kindly mocke to Calvin & vs Gospellers, than this is. For who knoweth not, that the auctoritie of wyrters, is iudged to stande chiefly in the auncientnesse of their writings, and then there is no comparison to be made betwixt Calvin and S. Augustine, who liued .x. hundred yere & more before this day. And Caluins modestie was neuer so little, as to compare him selfe with Austen, but in all his writings he doth reuerence the iudgement of that learned Father, and doeth alledge his auctoritie in confirming of truthe, so far forth as the same doth not dissent from truth. And Austen neuer desired to haue his iudgement in matters to be otherwise receiued, than the same should be found to be sound, & according to the Scriptures. As appeareth in his .7. Epistle, and in the Proeme of his thirde booke *De Trinitate*. Of the Trinitie. Whose wordes concerning this matter, being many, it shall suffice to note this short sentence. *Noli meis litteris quasi Scripturis canonicis inscribere, sed in illis, & quod non credebas cum inueneris, incunctanter crede: in istis autem, quod certum non habebas, nisi certum intellexeris, noli firmiter retinere.* That is. Be not bounde vnto my

G. j. writings

An Apologie of Crowley

Writings, as vnto the Canonical Scriptures : but when thou shalt finde in the Scriptures that whiche thou didst not beleue, beleue it without any delay or doubting : but when thou findest that in my writings, which thou didst not know certainlye before, except thou shalt certainlye vnderstand it, do not stiffely affirme it.

I am sure that Iohn Calvin did alwayes obserue this rule in reading S. Austens workes. And if he were nowe liuing woulde giue Cerberus the hire of a mocking Parasite, thus to set him against S. Austen. Yea, it might haue becommen Cerberus very well, either to haue bene shorter, and haue written no worde of this matter : or else to haue vttered his iudgement of this article, in suche sorte that the reader might haue vnderstand thereby the truth of the article, and howe Calvin & we that be Gospellers do hold this article, not setting our selues against S. Austen, but for good cause dissenting in Iudgement, both from Pelagius and Austen. And yet hauing a reuerend opinion of the one, do detest and abhorre the errour of the other.

Well, I maye not be so shorte in this matter as Cerberus is, but I thinke it my dutie, hauing this occasion, to do what shall lie in me, to let the reader vnderstande that S. Austen is not so much to be blamed for this cruell opinion, as Cerberus woulde haue men to thinke that Iohn Calvin doth reckon him to be. Neither doth y^e worthy instrument of God, mind to make the name of Austen odious to the Christian reader, as it seemeth that Cerberus would make the names of both those men of God.

Marke therfore, gentle reader, what might cause Austen some thing to swarue from the truth in thys article. He had to do with suche a one as denied Infantes to be spotted with Adams sinne, and that therfore they neded no regeneration, and so consequently no sacrament of re-
genera-

generation. The abomination of this error caused Austen to flye so far on the other side, that he had not such a consideration of the promise of God, as he shoulde haue had. And so affirmed more than once, that al that die without baptisme must nedes be damned. Let vs be contented that God hath by this error shewed Saint Austen to bee a man. And let vs giue him thankses for the abundaunce of good doctrine that this man hath lefte in writing, not doubting, but that that mercifull Worde whom he serued, woulde not suffer him to ende his life in that error (no more than he dyd in the Manicheis heresie, which he did sometime stoutly defende) althoughe it haue not pleased him to suffer it to appeare in writing, that euer he did acknowledge it to be an error.

As touching the opinion, that Calvin and we Gospellers do holde concerning Infantes that die withoute baptisme: it differeth something from Austen, but more from Pelagius. Yea, we doe as muche abhorre the error of Pelagius, as Austen did. For we affirme, and are able by the Scriptures to proue, that al Adams natural children are deade throughe Adams sinne, and that none of them can be quickened and reuiued againe, other wise than by Christ. And that so many as are not giuen vnto Christ, do stil remain in that sinne, and cannot be saued. So far off are we from this Pelagian heresie.

Nowe that it maye appeare howe wee differ from S. Austen: I will cite some matter out of the workes of maister Iohn Calvin. Not as Cerberus doth, to set him directly against Austen, but to shewe how God hath reuealed vnto hys seruant Iohn Calvin, that secret that he had not reuealed vnto his seruant Austen so fully: so far forth as we can finde written in his booke. First, we reade in the booke of maister Iohn Caluins Institutions in the title of Pedobaptisme or baptising of Chyl dren,

C.ij. these

An Apologie of Crowley

these words folowing. *Sed omiſſis cauillis, tenenda ſimplex eſt interpretatio quam attuli: neminem, donec renouatus fuerit aqua uina, hoc eſt ſpiritu, poſſe ingredi in Regnum Dei. Iam eſt ex eo, explodendum eſſe eorum commentum palam eſt: qui omnes non baptizatos, eterna morti adiudicant.* That is. But, all ſubtilties ſet a ſide, the ſimple interpretation that I haue made, muſt be holden, that is: that none can enter into the kingdom of God, til he be renewed by liuely water, that is, the holy ghoſt. Now therfore, euen hereof it is manifeſt, that the false opinion or fantaſie of them that condemne to eternall death, all that be not baptiſed, is to be dꝛyuen out with hiſſing and clapping of handes.

Againe, the ſame Caluin ſayth in his Comment bp: on the fiſt Chapter to the Romaines. *Vt miſera peccato hereditate potiariſ, ſatis eſt eſſe hominem, reſidet enim in carne & ſanguine. Vt Chriſti iuſtitia fruariſ, fidelem eſſe neceſſarium eſt, quia fide acquiritur eiꝰ conſortium. Infantibus peculiari ratione communicatur. Habent enim in ſœdere iꝰ adoptionis, quo in Chriſti communionem cooptantur. De piorum liberis loquor, ad quos promiſſio gratia dirigitur. Nam alij à communi ſorte nequaquam eximuntur.* That is. To enioy the miſerable inheritaunce of ſinne: it is enough to be a man: for it dwelleth in fleſh and bloud. But to enioy the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt, it is required of neceſſitie, that a man be faithfull, for the company or ſelowſhip of Chriſt is obtained by faith. To Infants, it is after a certaine peculiar maner communicated. For they haue in the couenaunt, the right of adoption, wherby they are adopted into the communion of Chriſt. I ſpeake of the children of the goble, vnto whom the promiſe of mercey is directed. For others are not deliuered from that lot, that is common to all men.

By theſe wordes of Caluin, it appeareth how we differ from Auguſtine, for we are of one minde with Caluin, who denieth not, that the children of the vnfaithfull that

that dye without baptisme, do remaine in the same state that the sinne of the firste man brought all mankinde vnto. We differ therfore, only in that we affirme that the children of the godlye doe appertaine to the couenant of God, and therefore do not perishe though they be preuented by death. Whether Austen continued to the ende in that minde that he sheweth him selfe in certaine of his writings concerning this matter: it is vncertaine, for in his Retractations there is no mention therof. But if he did, this onely is the difference betwixt him & vs, that we ascribe that to the couenāt, promise, and election of God, that he ascribeth to the sacraments. And as it appeareth in his 3. booke of questions vpon the olde Testament, he him selfe teacheth the same doctrine that we doe. His wordes be these, in the. 84. Question. *Proinde colligitur, inuisibilem sanctificationem quibusdam adfuisse, atq; profuisse, sine visibilibus sacramentis, quae pro temporum diuersitate mutata sunt, ut alia tunc fuerint, & alia modo sint: Visibilem vero sanctificationem, quae fieret per visibilia sacramenta, sine ista inuisibili posse adesse, non posse prodesse. Nec tamen ideo sacramentum contemnendum est: nam contemptor eius, inuisibiliter sanctificari nullo modo potest. Hinc est quod Cornelius, &c.* That is to say. We do therfore gather, that certaine men haue had the inuisible sanctification, and haue bene benefited therby, without the visible Sacramentes, which are according to the diuersitie of the time chaunged, so that then they were of one sort and nowe of another: And that the visible sanctification, which should be wrought by the visible sacramentes, maye be present without this that is inuisible, but can not be profitable wythout it. And yet is not the sacrament therfore to be contemned: for he that contemneth it, can by no meanes be made holy inuisibly. Whereof it came, that Cornelius and those that were wyth him, when they were perceyued, to be inuisibly sanctified by

G. iij.

the

August. lib. 3.
Questi. vetc.
test. Quest. 84

An Apologie of Crowley

the holpe Ghost that was poured into them, were not, withstanding baptised. &c.

*Retractat.
lib. 2. cap. 55.*

These words of S. Austen, do plainly declare of what minde he was when he wrote these questions. And this booke of questions, with the rest, he hath retracted and perused againe, allowing this sentence of his therein as it appeareth in the. 55. chapter of his second booke of Retractions. Cerberus had no cause therfore, to set Iohn Calvin against Austen, for we take that to be vndoubtedly the doctrine of Austen, which we finde in his Retractions, and not reuoked.

But Cerberus purpose was, craftily to cause all that would harken vnto him, to esteeme both Calvin & vs, as most arrogant heretikes, that wyl not sticke to compare one of our time with that auncient Father, and to accept his iudgement, without either reason or learning, directly against the iudgement of him, whom al the Church of Christ hath these many hundred yeres worthily reuerenced. For who seeth not, that Cerberus can not be one of those Gospellers that do accompt Calvin to be fully sufficient in auctoritie to encounter with Austen: sith he writeth so bitterly against all the that eyther write or preach that, that Calvin hath in writing most euidently proued and defended: Yea, he alleageth Austen against Caluins doctrine, and woulde seme thereby to triumphe ouer him and all that be of his minde.

As for the place that he cyteth out of Calvin, I leaue for Cerberus to scke out at his leysure, and when he hath founde it, to note where it may be founde. But I beleue it will be harde for him to find in Caluines woordes, that sentence in those woordes.

Cerberus.

There

There remaineth then, as before I promised, briefly to note those thyngs, which I thinke worthy to be reprov'd, about the doctrine of Predestination, as it is now a dayes taught of many. Wherin least I should seme to speake without assured grounde, and bicause wordes in preaching, in talke, or disputation (wherof I haue heard great abundance in thys matter) may rashly passe with small aduiselement, and eyther easely be denied or soone forgotten: I am determined to touch nothyng but their very wordes, whych are set forth in Print. And bicause the taking and aunsweryng of their whole bookes were a matter long and tedious, being commonlye stuffed on the one side, wyth an heape of opprobrious and outragious wordes against such priuate persons as they take in hand to write agaynst: and on the other side filled, rather wyth obscure subtelties, than wyth plaine affirmatiōs, I haue thought it best therfore, to take certayne sentences whych contayne manifest affirmatiōs, out of diuers late printed Englyshe bookes, wherein the summe and effect of this doctrine (which manye doe for iust cause mislike, is fully, plainelye, and simplye declared.

Crowley.

Nowe Cerberus beginneth to growe to the performance of his promise, in noting those things in the doctrine of predestinatio now preached, as seme to him mete to be reprov'd. And by the way, he will not taunt vs, but thus he sayth, that in preaching, talking, and reasoning, wordes may passe vs rashly and with small aduiselement, and be either easely denied, or soone forgotten: Wherefore he will touche nothing but that which we haue written
and

An Apologie of Crowley

and set forth in print. Well, contented, but yet I would Cerberus should knowe that we neither preache, talke, nor dispute with such rashnesse or small aduise-ment, but that we are able, and will, by Gods helpe, stande to all that we haue spoken therein, and he is able to charge vs withall. As for the outrageous wordes that we vse towards them that we write against, shalbe found modest inough, when they shalbe compared with the words that in this hys aunswere he vseth towards vs. Let him therefore procede in noting those things that he misliketh.

Cerberus.

I reade in an Englyshe booke set forth by *Robert Crowley*, and entituled, the confutation of. xiii. Articles. &c. these wordes. Adam therefore, beyng so perfect a creature, that there was in him no lust to sinne, and yet so weake, that of himselfe he was not able to withstand the assault of the subtile serpent: no remedye, the onely cause of his fall, must nedes be the predestination of God.

Thou seest, dearly beloued, in the conclusion of this sentence one point declared, wherein the contro-uerisie doth consist. For where he plainly affirmeth, that Gods predestination is the only cause of Adams fall, which is the fountayne of all sinne: other ha-ving a much more reuerend opinion of God and of hys holye predestination, do set their fote, or rather their heart and soule, agaynst their sayd conclusion. Este- myng it far better to be torne in manye thou- sande pieces, than to thynke or say, that Gods fore- ordinance or predestination, is the cause of any sinne or euil. I besech thee, let not thine eies be blinded, or thy minde muffled wyth malice, cyther agaynst the
one

one partie or the other, but in the ballāce of vpright iudgement, waye the difference. The one sayth (as in this conclusion manifestlye appeareth, and as afterwarde, yet more plainly he affirmeth) that the predestination of God, is the onely cause of Adams sinne, and so consequently of all euill. The other affirmeth directly contrary. That God or his predestination, is the cause of no sinne or euill, but the only cause of all goodnesse and vertue. And herewyth agreeth the holye and diuine Apostle Sainct Iohn in hys Epistle saying. All that is in the worlde, as the concupiscence of the fleshe, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father. Al good things that are in the worlde, are no doubt of God our heauenly Father: but whatsoeuer in the worlde, is concupiscence, lust, sinne, euill or wickednesse, the same is not of God our heauenlye Father: S. Iohn doeth plainly and precisely affirme. The lyke playnenesse vseth also the holye man Iesus the sonne of Sirach, in these wordes. Say not thou it is the Lordes fault, that I am gone by, for thou shalt not doe the thing that God hateth, saye not thou, he hath caused me to go wrong, for he hath no neede of the vngodlye. The verye same thing is plainly declared, in these Scriptures folowyng, and in other places almost innumerable. Psal. 5. Pro. 19. Ieremie. 7. & 19. Osee. 13. Iob. 34. & 36. Rom. 7. 1. Corin. 14. Iacob. 1. Exod. 34. Deut. 5. 2. Reg. 14. Psal. 81. & 144. Prou. 1. Sap. 1. & 2. 11. 12. 15. Eccles. 2. & 18. Esay. 5. & 30. 55. & 65. Lament Iere. 3. Ezech. 18. 24. & 33. Ioel. 2. 4. Esdr. 1. 2. 7. & 8. Math. 23. Act. 17. 1. Timoth. 2. & 4. 2. Pet. 3. The same sayth Austen also plainly in these wordes. *Non ergo casus ruentium, nec malignitatem iniquorum, neq; cupiditates peccantium, praedestinationis Dei, aut excitauit aut suasisit, aut impulsit:*
H. i. sed

1. Iohn. 2.

Eccle. 15.

An Apologie of Crowley

sed plane predestinavit iudicium suum, quo unicuique retributus est pro ut gessit siue bonum, siue malum, quod iudicium futurum non esset: si homines Dei voluntate peccarent. Neither the falles of them that fall, nor the wickednesse of them that be wicked, nor the luste of them that offende, hath the predestination of God, eyther prouoked, moued or compelled, but without doubt he hath foreordeyned his iudgement, wherby he will recompence euerye man, according as he hath done, whether it be good or euyll, the whiche shoulde be no iudgement, if men did sinne by the will of God.

Crowley.

I do acknowledge that this English booke, that Cerberus saith he hath read, was of my writing. I acknowledge also, that Cerberus hath cited the wordes truely, euen as I wrote them. But that I ment by them as Cerberus doth conclude vpon them: I utterly deny. For he concludeth that I haue affirmed, that Gods predestination is the onely cause of all euill. Whiche I neuer ment to teache, neither do my wordes, duely considered, giue any occasion of such conclusion.

I graunt, my words might haue bene more explaned, and my meaning set forth more at large, and all occasions of suche calumniation cut off, if I had sene that before I wrote that booke, whiche I thanke my Lord God, I haue sene since. Wherefore I minde by the help of God to do that now I was not so well able to do then, that the Reader may perceiue, that I haue with Austen profited in writing. My words that Cerberus citeth, are these. Adam therefore, being so perfect a creature, that there was in him no lust to sinne, and yet so weak, that of him selfe he was not able to withstande the assault of the subtile

*August. pr. 1.
lib. Retra. Et.*

tile serpent: no remedie, the only cause of his fall, must nedes be the p̄destination of God. Cerberus findeth no fault with any of these wordes, till he commeth to no remedie. And then no remedie, I must be condemned as one that affirmeth Gods p̄destination to be the onely cause of Adams sinne, and so consequentl̄y of all sinne. But I haue not saide that Gods p̄destination was the onely cause, or anye cause of Adams sinne. By wordes be that Gods p̄destination is the onely cause of Adams fall. Nowe Cerberus can not see howe Adams fall may be good, and therefore he sayeth that it is the fountaine of all sinne, and that to be the cause of that fall, is to be the cause of all sinne. But suche as haue eyes to see, do see, that as Gods p̄destination is the cause of Adams fall: so Adams fall is good. For it is the meane whereby God hath shut vp all vnder vnbeliefe, that he might haue mercede on all. And the meane whereby the Scripture shutteth vp all vnder sinne, that the promise which is of the faith of Iesus Christ, might be giuen to the faithfull.

Rom. 11.

Galath. 3.

I write therefore now, as I wrote before in my Confutation of Shaxtons Articles: that for asmuch as there was in Adam nothing to moue him to sinne (for lust to do contrarie to Gods wil, was not yet entred into him) & Satan the enemy had no power then, neither hath anye power yet, ouer anye creature of God, further than God doth limit and appoint him: it must nedes followe, that the only cause that Adam was assaulted & ouerthrowen by Satan, was the p̄destination of God, which is euer all one with his vnsearcheable will & counsel. The fall of Adam thus considered, neyther is, nor can be counted sinne: for it is the p̄formance of Gods purpose, whiche is euer good, although vnsearchable by mans feble vnderstanding. And yet I do not denie Adams fall to be sinne.

H. y.

111

An Apologie of Crowley

in Adam himself; for it was *Factum cōtra mandatum Dei*. And dede done contrary to the commaūdement of God. And so it had a cause in Adam himselfe, which was the power of his wil, whereby he consented to y^e enticement of Satan, who vsed the woman as his instrument therein. Of thys will and the power therof, Sainct Austen writeth thus: *De libero arbitrio, lib. 3. Cap. 18. Cum autem de libera voluntate rectè faciendi loquimur: de illa scilicet in qua homo factus est, loquimur.* When we speak of the will that is free to do wel, we speake of that will wherein man was made. And againe in his booke *De natura & gratia, Capite. 43.* speaking of man, he saith. *Quis enim cum nescit, sanum & inculpabilem factum, & libero arbitrio, atq; ad iustè viuendum libera potestate constitutum?* Who knoweth not that man was made sound & blameable, and that he was ordeined with free choyse, and free power or libertie to liue righteously? And againe in his booke *De Correctione & gratia, Cap. 11.* *Istam gratiam non habuit homo primus, qua nunquam vellet esse malus: sed sanè habuit in qua si permanere vellet, nunquam malus esset, & sine qua etiā cum libero arbitrio, bonus esse non posset, sed eam tamen per liberum arbitrium deserere posset. Nec ipsum ergo Deus esse voluit sine sua gratia, quē reliquit in suo libero arbitrio: quoniam liberum arbitrium ad malum sufficit, ad bonum autem nihil est, nisi adiungetur ab omnipotenti homo: quod adiutorium si homo ille per liberum non deseruisset arbitrium, semper esset bonus: sed deseruit & desertus est. Tale quippe erat adiutorium quod desereret cum vellet, & in quo permaneret si vellet, non quo fieret ut vellet.* The firste man had not thys grace, whereby he shoulde neuer be willing to be euill: but yet he had that grace, whereby he might haue bene alwayes preserued from euill, if he would haue continued therein, and without which also he coulde not by free will, be good, but yet he was able by free wil to forsake it. God therfore would not haue him to be without his grace, whō he had left in
his

his owne free will. For free will is able inough to do euill, but to do good it hath no power at al, except it be holpe by the almightie goodnesse: which helpe, if that man had not by free will forsaken, he shoulde haue bene good for euer, but he did forsake, and was forsaken. For the helpe was such, that he might forsake it when he woulde, and suche wherein he might remaine if he woulde, not such whereby it might come to passe that he should be willing.

By these places of S. Austen, we maye see of what minde he was concerning the free will of man before his fall. It was suche that he mighte consent to what he woulde. But the grace to be willing to consent to nothing but that which was good, was not giuen vnto mā, that man might haue experience of the power of his owne will, and so for euer after ascribe al the glozy to him that worketh all in all.

The cause of Adams fall therfore, euen by the iudgement of S. Austen (of whome Cerberus maketh suche boast) was not in himself: For God had fore appoynted, that by that meanes man shoulde haue experience of himselfe, and so learne to trust in one stronger than himselfe. But the cause that made his fall sinne, was in himselfe. For he did willingly consent to the perswasion of his wife, who also had in like maner consented to the perswasion of the Serpent.

If Cerberus could consider the fall of the first man after this sort: he would neuer conclude, that teaching that the Predestination of God was the onely cause of mans fall, shoulde withall conclude, that it is the onely cause of all sinne and euill. For I do not teache that it is the cause of any euill or sinne at all.

In vaine therfore, doeth Cerberus make his *Antithesis* or comparison of contraries, when he sayth, The one affirmeth that the Predestination of God is the onely cause

An Apologie of Crowley

cause of Adams sinne, and so consequentlve of all euill : And the other affirmeth directly contrary, that God or his Predestination is the cause of no sinne or euil. And much more vaine is it, that he citeth so manye testimonies of Scripture to that purpose. For I affirme that which he would make men beleue I denye, and denye that which he would haue men to thinke I do affirme.

But one thing I woulde gladly learne of Cerberus. That is, where he findeth, eyther in Scripture, or in auncient wryter, that Adams fall is the fountayne of all euill. We may manifestly proue by Scripture, that sinne was befoze Adam fell, otherwisc there coulde haue bene no tempter to entice him to sinne. For God tempteth no man to euill. And man had in himselfe no concupiscence or lust to sinne : therfoze euill was befoze Adam fell. And consequently, Adams fall was not the fountain of al euil.

Jacob. 1.

Saint Austen in the.ii. Chapter of his firste booke of Retractions sayth, that when he with others had diligently searched from whence euill might spring : it was agreed vpon amongst them, that it had none other fountaine than the free choyse of the will. Mans fall can not then be the fountaine of all euill : for there was euill in Aungels befoze man was made, and that sprang out of the free choyse of the will that was in the Aungelles.

But graunt, that the fall of man had bene the fountayne of all euill : might not Gods predestination be the cause of mans fall, but it must straight waye follow consequentlve that the same is the cause of all the euill that springeth therof : Then tell me (maister Cerberus) how it may be, that Gods predestination is not the cause of all the euill that springeth of the free choyse of will. For this ye wil not deny, I am sure, that God hath predestinated, both men and Aungels to haue the free choise of wil. And his will alone, according to which he hath predestinated all

all things, is the cause why men and Angels haue the free choise of wil. Shal we say therfore, that consequently it is the cause of all euill : bicause it is the cause of that whereout all euilles do spring : No thou hell hound, not so. God is altogether good, and the fountaine of all goodnesse, and from him can spring nothing that is not good. All those things therfore that spring out of the free choise of the will, are exceeding good, as God, or his predestination is the cause of them, and the euill that is in them, commeth of the instrument whereby God both worke those things. I pray you therfore, loke better vpon your consequently, &c.

As for the sentence that Cerberus citeth oute of S. Austen : *Non ergo casus ruentium. &c.* I thynke if a man should vpon a psoneth warning, require to see the place where S. Austen writeth those wordes : it would be hard for Cerberus to shewe it him. And therfore I blame him not, though he haue not quoted the place. But to do him a pleasure, I haue sought it in S. Austens workes and founde it *In decimo articulo falso Augustino imposito.* In the 1. of those articles that were falsly ascribed to S. Austen. Of what auctoritie that booke of S. Austen is, may easely appeare to them that will reade his Retractions : for it is not mentioned among the bookes that he retracted, and reformed in suche pointes as he himselfe misliked. But lest maister Cerberus should saye (as the Papistes vse to say of the Protestantes, and as some freewil men haue said of vs that teache the doctrine of predestination) that this is the common shift of all heretikes and obstinate defenders of vnttruthes, to diminish the auctoritie of Scriptures and sayings of Doctours that are alleaged against them, by saying that the same are not auentike, or that they maye be suspected not to be the writings of them in whose name they be set abroad : I will admit
this

An Apologie of Crowley

this saying of S. Austen as his owne, and that therein he ment as he wrote, and that his meaning is true. Let vs weigh the wordes of S. Austen therfore, and see how his meaning may be true, & yet agree wyth the doctrine that we teache. The predestination of God (sayth he) hath neither stirred vp, counselled, nor enforced, the falles of the that do rush downe headlong, nor the malignitie of them that be wicked, nor the desiers of them that do sinne: but doubtlesse he hath predestinated his iudgement, whereby he will rewarde euery man according to his doings, whether the same be good or euill. Whiche iudgement should not be, if it were the will of God that men shoulde sinne. I haue translated these wordes somewhat otherwise than Cerberus doth. But whether of vs doth better expresse the meaning of S. Austen, let the learned iudge. And whether I haue not translated theym so that they may serue better for Cerberus purpose, than as they are translated by himselfe. Let vs therefore loke to the meaning, and howe they make with vs or against vs.

Saint Austen teacheth that Gods predestinatiō, doth not stir vp, entice or enforce any man to fall, to be wicked, or to haue a desire to sinne. And which of vs doth teach y contrary? Euen you sir (saith Cerberus) when ye say that y Predestination of God, must nedes be the only cause of Adams fall. To this I haue sufficiently aunswere before, if any aunswere wil satisfie Cerberus. But yet for further aunswere I saye now, that I haue not at anye time saide or written, that Gods predestination did stirre vp, entice or driue Adam to fall. Wherefore I haue not taught contrary to S. Austen in thys point. But Cerberus will saye that our meaning is not al one with S. Austens. Let vs therefore examine S. Austens meaning. I vnderstand his meaning to be, that when man doeth fall, is wicked, or desireth to sinne: his will is not by
Gods

Gods Predestination stirred vp, enticed or compelled therevnto, but doth freely consent therevnto being stirred vp, prouoked and dzyuen sozwarde by the tempter, and by none other meane, if we speake of the first man, for in him was not, befoze his fall, that concupiscence that is now in vs, & was in him after his fall. Whether thys be y true meaning of S. Austen or no, let the learned iudge. And why may not the same meaning be gathered of my woordes, when I sape, that Adam being so perfect a creature, that there was in him no lust to sinne, and yet so weake, that of himselfe he was not able to withstand the assault of the subtile serpent: no remedie, the onely cause of his fall must nedes be the Predestination of God. I say not, that Gods Predestination did stir, prouoke, or dzyue him sozward to fall: And why maye I not meane as S. Austen doth in the eleauenth chapter of his booke, *De correptione & gratia*, where he sayeth (as I haue cited befoze) *Nec ipsum ergo Deus esse voluit sine sua gratia, quem reliquit in suo libero arbitrio: quoniam liberum arbitrium ad malum sufficit, ad bonum autem nihil est, nisi adiunctur ab omnipotenti bono: quod adiutorium, si homo ille, per liberum non deseruisset arbitrium, semper esset bonus, sed deseruit, & desertus est. Tale quippe erat adiutorium quod desereret cum vellet, & in quo permaneret si vellet, non quo fieret ut vellet.*

God therfore (sayth Austen) would not suffer him to be without his grace, whom he had left in hys owne free choise: for free will is able inough to do euill, but to do good it hath no power at all, except it be holpen of the almighty goodnesse: which help, if that man had not by his free wil sozaken, he should haue bene good for euer, but he did sozake & was sozaken. For the help was such that he might sozake it when he would, and suche wherein he might remaine if he would, not such wherby it might come to passe that he should be willing.

I. J.

Doth

An Apologie of Crowley

Doth not S. Austen affirme here, that the help of God which Adam had, was not suche, that by it he might be willing neuer to forsake it: And what other cause of this can you find: thā the Predestination of God, which is according to his euerlasting will, vnto the whiche all things are and must be subiect.

Rom. 11. If Cerberus will not be satisfied with thys: let him remember the saying of S. Paule, which S. Austen doth so often vse, to stop the mouthes of the vnaunswereable enemies of Gods free grace and preddestination. *O altitudo diuitiarum, sapientia & scientia Dei. Quā incomprensibilia sunt iudicia eius, & inuestigabiles viae eius?* And the depenelle of the richesse of the wisdom and knowledge of God. Howe incomprensible are hys iudgements, and hys wayes past finding out: Stay here, maister Cerberus, go no further I charge you, lest ye be thrust headlong into hell for your proude presumption.

Cerberus.

And although there be some places of Scripture, whervpon they would ground this opiniō, that men should sinne by the wyll of God, or that God should predestinate or ordeyne men to sinne, as where it is sayde, that God hardened the heart of Pharao, and such like: yet partayneth it nothing to that purpose, if it be wayed with the rest of the Scriptures. For as Austen saith. *Ipsc quasi eos indurat, quia in isto iudicio indurari sinit. Lib. de essentia Diuinitatis.* He doth (saith Austen) as it were harden them, bicause, that with his iust iudgemēt, he suffreth them to be hardened. And in his booke, *De libero arbitrio & gratia. Cap. 21.* he sayeth: Where at any time we reade in the scripture, that mē be seduced, or their hearts hardened of God: there may

may we not doubt, but that their wicked deservings went before, lest ye runne (sayth he) into the saying of Salomon. *Insipientia viri violat vias eius. Deum autem accusatur in corde suo.* The foolishnesse of a man defileth his wayes, but he sayeth in his heart, God is the cause of this hardening of heart.

Melancthon, in his common places, speaketh very plainly, saying: *Nec figura ille verborum offendunt. &c.* Neither, sayth he, do these figurative speeches offend. As I wil harden the heart of Pharao & such like. For it is certaine, that in the Hebrew phrase, they signify a permission or suffering, and not an effectuall wyl of God, as, Lead vs not into temptation, that is to say, Suffer vs not to be led into temptation. These are Melancthons woordes. And marke what he sayth of the Hebrew phrase, for al men know him to be a man learned. But to be short, it is surely to be maruelled at, that although they do thus accuse Gods Predestination, to be the only cause of Adams fal (which is indeede, not onely sinne, but also the very wellspring of al wickednesse, and the filthy fountaine of all our vncleannesse) yet they dare affirme themselves to be the only friendes and louers of Gods Predestination, & al others to be the enemies of Gods holy Predestination, which doe not subscribe to this their fantastical imagination. Moreouer, if it should be said, that they make God the Autor of sinne, they would crie naye, and saye they were slaundered. But, whether God be not the autor of that, whereof he is the onely cause: let the vncorrupted heart iudge. Also to saye the truth, when they see their time and place, they are bolde inoughe, yea, euen to vse the terme Autor, in that same manifest sense, as in a booke set forth by Iohn Knox, against an aduersarie of Gods Pre-

An Apologie of Crowley

destination(as he calleth hym)where, in the. 158. page he sayth thus.

Therefore, whatsoeuer the Ethnickes and ignorant did attribute vnto Fortune, wee assigne to the prouidence of God. And straight way he sayth. We shall iudge nothing to come of fortune, but that all cometh by the determination of hys counsell. And furder, it displeaseth him when we esteeme any thing to procede from any other, so that we do not behold hym and know him, not only the principall cause of all things: but also the auctour, appointing al things, to the one part or to the other by his counsell.

Marke well his wordes, and the very sence therof. All commeth of God, sayth he, God is the principal cause, and God is the auctour of it whatsoeuer it be. God appointeth al things, both to the one part and to the other, both to the wicked and to the godly all things, nothing is excepted, as well damnation as saluation, as well sinne as vertue, as well wickednesse as holynesse, yea, if it happen to be murder it selfe, for that a little before he rehearseth. Whatsoeuer it be, it procedeth from none other (saith he) but frō God, God so hath appointed it. God is the principal cause of it. Yea, and not onely the principall cause: but also the auctour of it. Here seest thou those playne termes, which sometime for a little nice lispynge, they can not, or will not speake, that God is the auctour of all murder and mischief. As for fortune, I knowe it to be an Heathenish fable, but where he saith, that God is not onely the principall cause, but also the auctour of all things, without any exception: and that whatsoeuer the Ethnickes attributed vnto fortune, that same we ought to ascribe to the prouidence of God: it is suche a wide wandring and large blasphemy

phemye, as hath not bene lightly heard. For who knoweth not, that vnto fortune the Ethnickes ascribed treason, and craftie conspiracie. As where they call her *Insidiosa*, *Perfida* & *Malefida*. Vnto fortune they ascribe cruell murder, and tyrannicall mischief. As when they call her *Aspera*, *Dura*, *Sæua*, *Truculenta*. Vnto fortune they ascribed filthy lust and impudent bawdrye: as when they call her *Lenocinaus*, *Bruta* and *Impudens*. Vnto fortune they ascribed, scornfull pride, and vaine glory, calling her, *Imperiosa*, *Procax* and *Superba*. Vnto fortune they ascribed, beastly blindness, & rude ignorance, calling her *Cæca*, and *Exoculata*. To conclude, vnto fortune, the Ethnickes ascribed all peruerse and pestilent wickednesse, and all abomination detestable, calling her *Nefaria*, *Abominanda* & *Improbæ*. Yet saye these professors of destiny: whatsoever the Ethnickes ascribed vnto fortune, that same ought we to attribute to the prouidence of God: yea and God is the very auctor, the principal cause, and the only cause therof.

Crowley.

Cerberus supposeth nowe, that he hath pulled from vs þe foudation of our faith. For he saith, that those scriptures that we would ground our opinion vpon, appertaine nothing to that purpose, when they be weighed with the rest of the scriptures. For the triall of this matter it shalbe mete for me at this time, plainly to set down in writing, what the opinion is, that I and other of my minde in this matter of Predestination, doe holde. And then, what those Scriptures be that Cerberus meaneth of, conferring the same with as manye other places of scripture, as haue any shewe of a contrarye meaning: so shal

An Apologie of Crowley

shall it appeare what Cerberus hath wonne by that he
citeth out of Austen and Melancthon. First, we hold that
what soeuer hath bene from the beginning, is now, or
shal be to the ende and for euer: was in Gods purpose
without beginning, and predestinated or foreappointed
to be in the time and order that it hath ben, is, or shal be:
so that nothing hath, doth or shal come to passe other wise
than he hath withoute beginning purposed and foreap-
pointed the same. The reasons that we stay vpon, are
these. Gods power is absolute, so that what he will do, he
is able to do, and what he will haue done, can not be let-
ted by any contrary power, & what he wil not haue done,
can not by anye power be done. But his power coulde
not be absolute. &c. if ought might be done otherwise thā
he hath purposed & appointed. Therfore, all things come
to passe, euen as he hath without beginning purposed &
appointed the same. Another reason is thus. Gods wise-
dome is most perfect, so that whatsoeuer he doeth, is so
done, that the doing thereof cannot be repented: But if
ought that he doth, might fall out other wise thā he ment
it should, whē he did it, it should folow that his wisdom
were not most perfect, for it is not y point of a wise man
to saye, I thought not that it woulde haue so happened.
Therfore nothing hath, doeth, or shall happen other wise
than he ment it should, when he did first ordeine it. The
third reason is, that his foreknowledge can not be decei-
ued, but euen as he did foresee, and know before hande,
that things should come to passe, so they haue, be, and
shal be brought to passe. But this coulde not be, if things
should be done, otherwise thā by his appointmēt. Ther-
fore al things haue, are and shal be done by his appoint-
ment. These be the chief reasons that we stay vpon. The
scriptures that we do most stay vpon, are these. *Conuenerunt
enim in ciuitate ista, aduersus sanctum filium tuum Iesum quem
vixisti,*

vnxisſti, Herodes & Pontius Pilatus, cū gentibus & populis Iſrael: ad faciendum quæcunq; manus tua & conſilium tuum prius deſ. *Act. 4.* creuerunt fieri. There gathered together euen in this Cite, againſt thy holy childe Jeſus, whome thou haſte appointed, both Herode and Pontius Pilate, with þe Gentiles and peoples of Iſrael: to doe whatſoeuer thyngs thy power and counſel had befoze decreed to be done. Actes the iiij. Chapter.

Againe in the. viij. of Exod. it is thus witten. *Dixitq; Exod. 7.* Dominus ad Moſen. Ecce conſtitui te Deum Pharaonis, & Aaron ſuater tuus erit Prophetæ tuus. Tu loqueris ei omnia quæ mando tibi, & illi loquetur ad Pharaonē, vt dimittat filios Iſrael de terra ſua. Sed ego indurabo cor eius, et multiplicabo ſigna & oſtenta mea in terra Egypti, & non audiet vos. And þe Lord ſaid vnto Moſes. Behold I haue appointed thee to be Pharaos God, & Aaron thy brother ſhalbe thy Prophet. Thou ſhalt ſpeak vnto him all thoſe things that I ſhall commaunde thee, and he ſhall ſpeake vnto Pharaos, that he let the children of Iſrael depart out of his land. But I will harden his heart, and will multiply my wonders and ſignes in the land of Egypt, and he ſhall not hearken vnto you.

Moreouer, in the. xix. Chapter of the. iiij. booke of the *4. Reg. 19.* Kings, we reade thus. *Venerunt ergo ſerui Regis Ezechia ad Iſaam, Dixitq; eis Iſaas. Hæc dicetis domino veſtro. Hæc dicit Dominus. Noli timere à facie ſermonū quos audiſtis, quibus blaſphemasuerunt pueri Regis Aſſyriorum me. Ecce ego immittam ei ſpiritum, & audiet nuntium, & reuertetur in terram ſuam, et deiciam eum gladio in terra ſua.* And in the ende of the ſame Chapter it is witten thus. *Cumq; adiret in templo Neſroch Deum ſuum: Adramelech, & Saraſer filij eius, percufferunt eum gladio. &c.* The ſeruauntes of King Ezechia came vnto Eſay. And Eſay ſaid vnto them. Thus ſhal ye ſay vnto your Lord. Thus ſayth the Lorde. Be not thou afraide of the wordes that ye haue hearde, wherewith the ſeruaunts

An Apologie of Crowley

uauntes of the King of the Assyrians haue blasphemed me. Behold I wil put a spirit into him, and he shal heare a tidings, and he shal returne into his owne country, and in his owne countrey will I ouertholue him with the sword. And in the end of the same Chapter it is written thus. And when he was in the Temple worshipping Nesroch his owne God: Adramelech and Saracer hys owne sonnes slewe him with the sword. &c.

Genes. 45.

Furthermoze, in the xlv. of Genesis, we reade thus. *Premisitq; me Deus, ut reseruemini super terram, & escas ad viuendum habere possitis. Non vestro consilio, sed Dei voluntate missus sum: qui fecit me quasi patrem Pharaonis, & Dominum vniuersae domus eius. &c.* God sent me befoze, that you might be reserued vpon the earth, and haue foode to lyue by. It was not by your aduise oz counsel, that I was sent hither, but by the will of God, who hath made me to be as a Father vnto Pharao, and Lorde of all his house. &c.

To conclude, in the last chapter of the same booke, we reade the matter repeated after this sort. *Nolite timere, num Dei possumus resistere voluntati? Vos cogitastis de me malum: sed Deus vertit illud in bonum. &c.* Feare not, are we able to resist Gods will? you did deuise euill for me: but God did turne it to good.

By these Scriptures it appeareth plainelye, that all those thinges that Herode, Pilate, and the Iewes did to Christ: that Pharao did in the hardnesse of his heart: that the sonnes of Sinacharib did to their Father: and that Iosephes brethren did vnto him: were all done by the determinate purpose and Predestination of God. Wherevpon, it semeth to me, that we may conclude that all other actions are done according to the same purpose and predestination. Otherwise, we must nedes confesse, that God is either disapointed of his purpose oftentimes, oz else that he createth many things, not knowing befoze

foze what shall become of them. Which absurdities may in no case be graunted.

Now what those Scriptures be, wherewith Cerberus would haue these and such like scriptures to be weyghed, we must gesse: for Cerberus citeth not so muche as one. I will therefore gesse as nere as I can, what scriptures those be that he meaneth of. One as I suppose, is writ-
ten by Sainct Paule to Timothe. The wordes are these. *Deus vult omnes homines saluos fieri, & ad agnitionem ve-* 1.Tim.2.
ritatis venire. God would haue al men saued & come to the
acknowledging of the truth. Let vs first weigh this place
with the other afoze cited, and see how this maye make
the other to serue nothing to þ purpose that we alleage
them for. God would haue all men saued, and to come to
the acknowledging of the truth: But if he did foreap-
poynt Herode, Pilate, and the Iewes, to accuse and con-
demne his sonne Christ, and did harden Pharaos heart,
kyl Sinacharib with the sword of his sonnes, and sende
Ioseph into Egypt by the trecherie of his brethren: he
would not haue all men saued: for the rewarde of these
workes is damnation: therefore God neuer appointed a-
mye of these things to be done. I am sure Cerberus can
not applye this place better to his purpose, than it is in
this argument applied. Now let vs see what may be said
to the contrarie, without eyther denying or wresting of
S. Pauls wordes. First, S. Austen doth interprete these
wordes of S. Paule after this sort. *Libro de voluntate Dei,*
Cap.2. Occurrit enim, cur pereant ex hijs aliqui, quum omni-
tens Deus, omnes homines saluos fieri velit, & in agnitionem veri-
tatis venire. Deinde, cur rursus induret alios, misertus alioru, aut
quomodo omnes saluos fieri velit homines, quum ipse nonnullos, ne
saluentur induret? Hoc quantum ad humanam iustitiam vide-
tur iniustum: sed quis ita desipiat, vel potius quis ita blasphemet,
ut dicat de iustitia Dei, lege humane iustitie disputandum? Que
K.i. profecta

An Apologie of Crowley

profecto, si iustitia Dei aduersatur, iniusta est. Ab illo enim qui summè iustus est, omne quod qualitercunq; iustum est, manere manifestum est. Quis ergo erit, qui incommutabiliter manentem, & omnia quæ sunt condentem, regentem, atq; seruantem Dei sapientiam, pendit humane sapientie arbitrio? De qua idem Apostolus dicit, Quia sapientia carnis, inimica est Deo. Et alibi. Sapientia huius mundi, stultitia est apud Deum. Non est ergo de illa maiestate diuine sapientie, humana vanitatis arbitrio disputandum. That is to say, For this is obiected. Why should any of these perishe, seing that God that is almightye, is willing that all men should be saued, & come to the acknowledging of the truth? Moreover, why doth he on the contrary part, harden some, taking mercy on other some: or howe is he willing that all men shoulde be saued, when he himselte doth harden some, least they should be saued? As touching humaine iustice, this thing seemeth vniust. But who would be so foolish, or rather who would so blaspheme: as to say, that we should reason of the iustice of God, by the order of the iustice of man: which no doubt, if it be against the iustice of God, it is vniust. For it is manifest, that whatsoeuer hath in it anye iustice at all, doeth spring from him that is iust in the highest degree. Who shall it be therfore, that will weigh by the arbitrement of mans wisdom, the wisdom of God, which remaineth immutable, and hath made, doeth gouerne and preferue al things that be? Of which wisdom, the same Apostle saith. That the wisdom of the flesh, is enimie vnto God. And in another place. The wisdom of the world is foolishnesse with God. We maye not therfore, by the arbitrement of mans vanitie, dispute of that majesty of the wisdom of God.

Againe, in his booke *De spiritu & littera*, Capite. 32. the same Austen sayth. *Si credemus, vt impetremus hanc gratiam: & utiq; voluntate credimus, De hac quaeritur, vnde sit voluntas.*

Si natura, quare non omnibus : cum sit idem Deus omnium creator ? Si dono Dei, etiam hoc, quare non omnibus, cum omnes homines velit saluus fieri, & ad agnitionem veritatis venire ? Prius igitur illud dicamus & videamus, utrum huic satis faciat quaestioni, quod liberum arbitrium naturaliter attributum a creatore animae rationali : illa media vis est, quae vel intendi ad fidem, vel inclinari ad infidelitatem potest. Et ideo, nec istam voluntatem, quae credit Deo, dici potest homo habere, quam non acceperit. Quandoquidem vocante Deo, surgit de libero arbitrio, quod naturaliter cum crearetur, accepit. Vult enim Deus omnes homines saluos fieri, & in agnitionem veritatis venire. Non sic tamen, ut eis adimat liberum arbitrium, quo vel bene vel male vtentes, iustissime indignantur. Quod cum sit, infideles quidem contra voluntatem Dei faciunt, cum eius Euangelio non credunt : nec ideo tamen eam vincunt, verum se ipsos fraudant magno & summo bono, malisque, penaliibus implicant, experturi in supplicijs potestatem eius, cuius in donis misericordiam contempserunt. Ita voluntas Dei semper inuicta est. Vinceret autem, si non inueniret, quod de contemptoribus faceret : aut villo modo possent euadere, quod de talibus ille constituit.

That is. If we do beleue, to the end that we may obtaine this grace, and do also by the consent of our will, beleue: hereof a question is moued, whence we haue this wil. If it be of nature, why is it not in al mē : seing one God is the creatoꝝ of all men : If we haue it by the gift of God, why is it not giuen to all men : seing he is willing that all men should be saued, and come to the acknowledging of the truth: Let vs therfore affirme the first, and see whether it may satisfie this question, bicause free will, whiche the Creatoꝝ hath naturally giue to the reasonable soule : is that indifferent power, which may epyther be boiued to faith, or inclined to infidelitie. And therfore, it can not be said, that man hath not receyued this wil, whereby he beleueth in God, bicause, whē God calleth, it riseth of free will, which he receiued when he was naturallꝑe created.

R. G.

F. O.

An Apologie of Crowley

For God is willing that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth: and yet not so, that he would take from them freewill, whereby they may be iustly iudged, whē they vse it wel or otherwise. In which doing, the Infidels do worke contrary to Gods will, by cause they beleue not his Gospell. And yet doe they not therfore ouercome it, but they do defraude them selues of the great and most excellent goodnesse, and do entangle them selues with cuilles, wherewith they are punished, and shal in the punishments haue experiece of his power, whose mercede they did in his giftes contemne. So is the will of God alwayes vnconquered. But if he could not finde holwe to vse these despisers, or if they could by anye meanes escape that which he hath appointed to become of such: then should his will be ouercome in dede.

Againe, in his booke entituled *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*. Capite. 103. he sayeth thus. *Ac per hoc, cum audimus, & in sacris litteris legimus, quod velit omnes homines saluos fieri: quamuis certum sit nobis non omnes homines saluos fieri, non tamen ideo debemus omnipotentissimæ Dei voluntati aliquid derogare, sed ita intellegere quod scriptum est: qui vult omnes homines saluos fieri: tanquam diceretur, nullum hominem fieri saluum, nisi quem saluum fieri ipse voluerit: non quod nullus sit hominum, nisi quem saluum fieri velit, sed quod nullus fiat, nisi quem velit, & ideo sit rogandus ut velit, quia necesse est fieri si voluerit. De orando quippè Deo agebat Apostolus ut hoc diceret. Sic enim intelligimus id quod in Euangelio scriptum est: Qui illuminat omnem hominem: non quia nullus est hominum qui non illuminetur, sed quia nisi ab ipso nullus illuminatur. Aut certè sic dictum est. Qui omnes homines vult saluos fieri, non quod nullus hominum esset, quem saluum fieri nollet, qui virtutes miraculorum facere noluit apud eos, quos dicit acturos fuisse pœnitentiam, si fecisset: sed ut omnes homines omne genus hominum intelligamus per quas cunq; differentias distributum, Reges, priuatos, nobiles, ignobiles. &c.*

That

That is to say. And hereby when we heare and reade in the holy scriptures, that he is willing y all men should be saued, although we knowe assuredly that all men are not saued: yet may we not therefore derogate any thing from the almightye will of God, but vnderstande that which is wrytten, on this sort. Not that there is no man, but that he woulde the same shoulde be saued: but that none cā be saued, but such as he wil haue saued. And that therfore he ought to be prayed vnto, that he woulde be willing, bicause it must nedes be, if he be willing that it should be. For when the Apostle spake these wordes, he was in hande with the prayers that are to be made vnto God. And after the same maner we vnderstād that which is wrytten in the Gospell. Whiche lightneth euery man. Not that there is no man that is not illumined, or lightned: but for that there is none illumined, other wise than of him. Mels vndoubtedly the wordes haue thys meaning. Which is willing that all mē should be saued, not that there shoulde be no man whome he would not haue saued, which would not worke his miracles among them that he saith would haue repēted, if he had done so: but that we should vnderstand by all men, all sortes of men, by what differences so euer the same be seuered, kings, priuate persons, noble persons, and ignoble. &c.

And againe in his booke. *De correptione & gratia. Cap. 14.* S. Austen sayth thus. *Cum autem homines per correptionem in viam iustitie seu veniunt, seu reuertuntur, quis operatur in cordibus eorū salutē, nisi ille, qui quolibet plantante atq; rigante, & quolibet in agris atq; arbutulis operante, dat incrementum Deus, cui volenti saluum facere, nullum hominum resistit arbitrium? Sic enim, velle vel nolle, in volentis aut nolentis est potestate, vt diuinam voluntatem nōn impediāt, nec superet potestatem. De hīs enim qui faciunt quæ non vult, facit ipse quæ vult. Et quod scriptum est, quod vult omnes homines saluos fieri, nec tamē omnes*

An Apologie of Crowley

salui sunt : multis quidem modis intelligi potest, ex quibus in alijs opusculis nostris, aliquos commemorauimus, sed hic vnum dicam. Ita dictum est. Omnes homines vult saluos fieri, vt intelligantur omnes predestinati, quia omne genus hominum in eis est, sicut dictum est Phariſeis. Decimatis omne olus, vbi non est intelligendum, nisi omne quod habebant. Neq, enim omne olus quod erat in toto terrarum orbe decimabant.

That is to say. When men doe by chastisement, either come or returne into the way of righteousness, who is it that worketh health in their hearts, but he who giueth the encrease, when any man planteth or watreth, and when any man worketh in the fieldes or orchards, which is God, against whom, being willing to saue, no mans free will doth make resistance. For to be willing or unwilling, is after such sort in the power of him that is willing or unwilling, that it be not a let to the will of God, nor do ouercome his power. For of them that do those things that he willeth not, doth he make those things that he is willing to make. And where as it is written: that he is willing that all men should be saued, and yet all be not saued: it may be vnderstanded many wayes, whereof we haue in our other little workes made mention of some, but I wil now speake of one moe. This is the saying. He is willing that all men shoulde be saued, that thereby, all that be predestinated might be vnderstande, for that among them are men of all sortes. As it was sayd to the Phariseis, ye doe pay the tenth of euery garden hearbe. Where we may not vnderstande, moe than all that they had. For they did not giue the tenth of al the hearbes that be in the whole circle of the earth.

By these places of S. Austen may Cerberus see, how this place of scripture (God is willing that al men should be saued. &c.) being wayed with the places that we builde vpon, doth make that they serue nothing to our purpose.

For

For in expounding of these wordes of S. Paule, God is willing that al men should be saued & come to the knowledge of the truth : S. Austen doth affirme as much as we do, as may wel appeare to as many as will way these places of his, with indifferent iudgement.

One other place for this purpose, is written in the 33. Chapter of Ezechiel. The wordes are these. *Viv ego dicit Dominus. Nolo mortem impij, sed ut convertatur impius à via sua, & vivat. Convertimini, convertimini, à vijs vestris pessimis, & quare moriemini domus Israel?* What is to say. As truely as I live, saith the Lord, I desire not the death of the vngodly, but that the vngodly be converted frō hys olone way and live. Be converted, be converted frō your most wicked wayes, why will ye die, O you house of Israell?

Saint Hierome expounding this place, beginneth at these wordes in the same Chapter. *Tu ergo fili hominis, dic ad domum Israel: sic locuti estis dicentes. Iniquitates nostræ & peccata nostræ super nos. &c.* Therefore thou sonne of man, speake thou to the house of Israell and say: thus haue ye spoken, saying: Our iniquities & sinnes are vpon vs, &c. By occasion of which wordes, S. Hierome sayeth thus. *Si negligenter legamus, videtur nobis eadem prophetia esse quæ supra, in qua dicitur. Nunquid volens cupio mortem iniqui dicit dominus: nisi converti eum à via sua mala & vivere? Et in fine eiusdem prophetiæ. Convertimini & redite ab vniuersis impietatibus vestris, & non erunt vobis in tormentum iniquitates. Ibi enim ad eos sermo fit qui volunt agere pœnitentiam, & iustitia peccata delere, ut cum fiducia convertantur, & pleno animo agant pœnitentiam. Hic autem ad eos loquitur, qui magnitudine peccatorum, imo impietatum suarum desperant salutem & dicunt: Iniquitates nostræ & peccata nostræ super nos sunt, & in ipsis tabescimus, quomodo ergo vivere poterimus? Et est sensus. Cum semel nobis mors proposita sit: & vulneribus nostris nulla medicina possit restituere sanitatem: quid necesse est laborare & frustra consumi,*
presen-

Super. Ezech.
Cap. 33.

An Apologie of Crowley

presentem vitam non cum desperatione transigere, ut saltē hac fruamur: quia futuram perdidimus? Quibus respondet Deus, non velle se mortem impij, sed ut reuertatur & viuatur. Et Apostropham facit ad impios desperātes: cōuertimini à vjs vestris pessimis. Atq̃, ut sciamus, qui sint impij ad quos loquitur, sequēs sermo demonstrat. Quare moriemini dñus Israel? Vita autem & mors in hoc loco non hæc significatur, qua omnes communi cum bestijs, lege natura, vel viuimus, vel morte dissoluimur: sed illa de qua scriptum est. Placebo Domino in regione viuentium.

That is to saye. If we reade this negligently, it seemeth to be the same prophēcie, that is before, wherein it is said, do I willingly desire the death of the vngodly, sayth the Lorde: or, but that he be conuerted from his owne euill waye and liue? And in the ende of the same Prophecie: Be ye conuerted and come backe againe from all your vngodlinesse, and your iniquities shall not turne you to tormentes. For in that place he speaketh vnto those which are willing to repent, and by righteous life, to blot out their sinnes, that they might with sure confidence returne vnto God, and with full mindes repent. But in this place he speaketh vnto thē, that throughe the greatnesse of their owne sinnes (yea their owne impieties) do dispayre of saluatiō, and say. Our iniquities and our sinnes are vpon vs, and in them doe we consume away: how can we therefore liue? And this is their meaning. Seeing that death is once set before vs, and no medicine is able to heale our wounds: what neede we labour and be consumed, and not passe ouer thys life with desperatiō: so, that at the least way we may enioy this life? For the life to come we haue already lost. Vnto whome God maketh aunswere, that he willett not the death of the vngodly: but that he be conuerted & liue. And he turneth his speech to the desperate vngodlye ones: saying, turne you from your owne wayes, whiche are most weakened.

ked. And that we might knowe who those wicked ones were to whome he spake, the wordes that follow do declare. O ye house of Israell, why wyll ye dye: And that life and that death, wherby we do by the order of nature, with the brute beastes eyther liue or die, is not in this place signified: but that life whereof it is written. I will please the Lorde in the land of the liuing.

By these wordes of S. Hierome: it appeareth, that he vnderstode not the wordes of Ezechiel, in such sorte as Cerberus would haue vs to vnderstande them, that is, that by them is taught a doctrine contrarie to that which we teache, and so consequently, the places that we builde vpon, proued to make nothing for our purpose. For Hierome saith, that in the. xviij. Chapter of his Prophecie, Ezechiel speaketh to them that be penitent, and woulde by righteous life blot out their sinnes past. These doth he there encourage, with bolde courage and assured hope of forgiveness at Gods hand, to go forward with their repentance begon, saying: Be ye conuerted, and returne againe from all your vngodlinesse, and your iniquities shall not turne you to torment. But in this place, in the 33. of his Prophecie (sayth S. Hierom) the Prophete speaketh to the desperate people of Iewes, which said: Our iniquities and sinnes are vpon vs. &c. Giuing them selues to continue in wickednesse, as those that dispayred of forgiveness of that which was paste, although they should from thenceforth endeouour amendment. To these (sayth the Prophete) speaketh God, saying: Turne from your owne moste wicked wayes. Why will ye die, O ye house of Israell: The greatnesse of our sinnes can be no cause why we should dispaire of Gods mercy. Wherefore we teache with Ezechiel, Ieremie, Esaie, and the rest of the holye Prophetes, that God is ready to receiue to mercy as many as by repentance and amendmēt of life turne to him,

L.j.

beleuing

An Apologie of Crowley

beleuing the promise that he hath made in the death and bloudshedding of his only sonne Iesus Christ. I conclude therefore that this place maketh for our purpose, and not against vs. And least I shoulde trouble the Reader ouer much, with such places as this: I do referre all such places to the aunswere I haue here made, not doubting but the diligent Reader, who seeketh nothing but the simple trueth, shalbe therewithall satisfied.

*Augusti. De
essentia Diuini-
tatis.*

Nowe, as touching the places of S. Austen, whythe Cerberus citeth out of his booke: *De essetia Diuinitatis: And De libero arbitrio & gratia*: I will first rehearse all the wordes that S. Austen wyrteth in those places, concerning this matter, and then weigh them, that we may see how they may serue for Cerberus purpose. The wordes are these. *Indurare dicitur Deus quorundam malorum corda, sicut de Pharaone Rege Egypti scriptum est: non quod omnipotens Deus, per potentiam suam corda eorum indueret, quod est impium ita credere: sed exegitibus eorum culpis, quam duritiam cordis, quam ipsi sibi mala perpetrando nutriunt, non aufert: quasi ipse eos indueret, quia iusto iudicio induari sinuit.* That is to say: It is said that God doth harden the heartes of certaine euill men, as it is written of Pharaon King of Egypt: not that the Almighty God doeth by his almightie power harden their hearts, which thing to beleue, is an vngodly thing: but when they faultes requiring the same, doeth not take from them that hardness, which in committing euilles, they themselves doe nourishe to themselves: he doth as it were himselfe harden them, because he doth, by his iust iudgemēt, suffer them to be hardened.

If Cerberus woulde haue weighed these wordes wel: he woulde neuer haue applyed them against vs. For we teach not, that the almighty God, doth by his almightie power harden mens hearts, for we know that it were an vngodly thing so to teach or beleue: but we teache as S. Austen

Austen doth, that they sinnes requiring the same, he lea-
neth them in the hardnesse of their hearts, which by com-
mitting of euilles, they do nourish vnto themselves. For
by the sinne of the first man al mens hearts are hardned,
and of them selues they can do nought else but nouryshe
that hardnesse, and Gods hardning of their hearts, is no-
thing else but the withholding of the deaue of his grace
from them, without which they can not be softned. And
this he doth in iust iudgement, for the sinne of oure first
Father hath deserued no lesse in vs all. But here I must
let the Reader vnderstande, what places Cerberus pye-
keth for his purpose. Erasmus supposeth, that rather Hu-
go Victorinus than S. Austen should be the Author of this
booke. Well, I will not strue wyth him for the matter.
But let him consider it better before he applie it against
vs againe.

The wordes of the other place that Cerberus citeth
out of the .xxj. chapter of S. Austens booke. *De gratia & libe-*
ri arbitrio: are as faithfully handled as any other. Cerberus
feared to set downe to many of Austens wordes, least the
Reader shoulde see that they make with vs against Cer-
berus and his fellowes. I will therfore set downe so ma-
ny of hys wordes as may make his meaning knowen to
the diligent Reader. Firste, in the beginning of the same
Chapter, he sayth thus. *Quis non ista iudicia diuina contre-*
miscat, quibus agit Deus in cordibus etiam malorum hominum
quicquid vult, reddens eis tamen secundum merita eorum? Robo-
am filius Salomonis respuit consiliū salubre Seniorum quod ei de-
clerant. &c. Who would not (saith Austen) tremble at these
iudgements of God, wherby he doth in the heartes euen
of wicked men, worke what he lusteth, and yet rendring
vnto them according to their deseruings. Roboam, the
sonne of Salomon, refused the holesome counsell of the
Elders which they gaue him, which was that he should

August. De
gratia & li-
bero arbitrio.
Cap. 21.

L.ij.

not

An Apologie of Crowley

not deale roughly with the people, and he hearkened rather to the wordes of them that were of his owne age, giuing a rough aunswere to them, whom he should haue answered gentlye. And so forth, citing many examples out of the Scriptures, to proue, that God is he, that worketh in the hearts of euill men, those things wherby his purpose is perfozmed in punishing of sinne.

And towarde the end of the Chapter, he saith: *Hys & talibus testimonijs diuinorum eloquiorum, quæ omnia commemorare nimis longum est, satis, quantum existimo, manifestatur, operari Deum in cordibus hominum, ad inclinandas eorum voluntates quocunq; voluerit, siue ad bona, pro sua misericordia, siue ad mala, pro meritis eorum, iudicio viq; suo, aliquando aperto, aliquando occulto, semper autem iusto. Fixum enim debet esse & immobile in corde vestro, quia nō est iniquitas apud Deum. Ac per hoc, quādo legitis in litteris veritatis à Deo seduci homines, aut obtūdi vel obdurari corda eorum, nolite dubitare præcessisse mala merita eorum, vt iuste ista paterentur: nē incurratis in illud Prouerbum Salomonis. Insipientia viri, violat vias eius: Deum autem causatur in corde suo. That is to say. By these and suche like testimonies of holy Scriptures, wherof it were too long to make a whole recitall, it is, as I suppose, sufficientl ye shewed, that God doeth worke in the heartes of men, to encline their willes whither it pleaseth him, whether it be to good things, according to his mercie, eyther to euill things, according to their merits, and according to his owne iudgement, which is sometime open, and sometime secrete, but alwayes iuste. For this perswasion ought to be fixed and vnmoueable in your hearts: that there is none iniquitie with God. And hereby, when ye reade in the writings of the truth, that God doth leade me out of the way, or that he doth dull or harden their heartes: do ye not doubt, but that their euill deseruing went before, that they might iustly suffer these things, least ye should runne into that*

Prouerbe

Proverbe of Salomon, which sayth. The foolishnesse of a man doth defile his wayes: but in his heart he layeth the blame in God.

If Cerberus would haue set downe all these wordes of S. Austen: I shoulde not haue needed to write any answer to that whiche he did set downe. For S. Austens wordes are sufficient for answer, when he sayth that God worketh in the hearts of men to encline their willes, whether it be to good things, according to his mercy, or to euill things, according to their deservings, & that which way he him self is willing to encline them. Now let Cerberus finde contradiction in S. Austens wordes, if he can. As for me, I can see none. But if Cerberus can finde none, then hath he applied S. Austens wordes against vs, contrary to S. Austens meaning.

Nowe let vs see what Cerberus hath founde in Melanctons common places. Melancton speaketh verie plainly (saith Cerberus) and sayth, *Nec figura ille verborum offendunt.* &c. Neither saith he, doe these figuratiue speeches offend. As I wil harden the heart of Pharao, and such like: for it is certain, that in the Hebrew phrase, they signifie a permission or suffering, & not an effectuall will of God. As leade vs not into temptation, y is to saye, suffer vs not to be lead into temptatiō. These are Melanctons wordes, sayth Cerberus: and marke (sayth he) what he sayeth of the Hebrew phrase, for all men know him to be a man learned. Here Cerberus beginneth to triumphe, and semeth to him selfe to haue wonne the fild. Melancton hath said it, therfore it must nedes be so. I reuerence Melancton, and do acknowledge that he was learned: but let vs see whether, in this point, Melancton haue not shewed him selfe to loth to offende such as Cerberus is, and therfore seemed to haue giuen them baütage against himselfe. In the same booke of common places, in the first

An Apologie of Crowley

title, which is *De Deo*: he describeth God after this sorte :
Deus est essentia spiritalis, intelligens, aeterna, verax, bona, pura,
iusta, misericors, liberrima, immensa potentia & sapientia. &c.
That is to saye: God is a spirituall essence, vnderstan-
ding, euerlasting, true, good, pure, iuste, mercifull, moste
free, & of vnmeasurable power and wisdome. &c. Nowe, if
God do permit any thing to be done which he is not wil-
ling should be done, how is he almighty? Other there-
fore, as learned as Melancthon, haue sayd, & in my iudge-
ment, truly: that to permit and to will is al one, in him
that can not be enforced to permit or suffer that which he
is not willing should be. But as I haue declared befoze,
we affirme not, that the actions, wordes, and thoughtes
of man, as they are willed or permitted by God, are or
can be sinne. For he being altogether good, and nothing
else but goodnesse, can not will or permit anye thing that
is euill. The euill therefore that is in mens thoughtes,
wordes or actions, cometh of the Deuil and mens owne
willes: which God doth will or permit, as a meane, ey-
ther to set forth his mercie in forgiuing, or his iustice in
punishing, whiche in that respect can not be other than
good. What Cerberus hath wonne by citing these wordes
of Melancthon: let he learned that haue read other mens
writings vppon this matter, iudge. I haue sayde that I
thinke to be true.

But now Cerberus thinketh to paye vs home. To be
shorte, sayeth he, it is surely to be maruelled at, that al-
though they doe thus accuse Gods Predestination to be
the onely cause of Adams fall (which is in dede not onely
sinne, but also the very wellspring of all wickednesse, and
the filthy fountaine of all our vncleannesse) that yet they
dare affirme themselues to be the onely friends and lo-
uers of Gods Predestination. &c. Cerberus will be shorte
now. Well let him be answered as shortly. He hath all
this

this while laboured to proue that was neuer denied, that is, that the sinne of Adam in his first fall, is the cause of al the sinne that hath bene, is, or shalbe committed by his posterity. For we hold, that after Adam had once sinned, neyther he nor anye of hys posteritie, being naturallye brought forth in this worlde, could of them selues do any other thing than sinne. The cause wherof we say, is that concupiscence and lust to do euil, which entred into him, & from him is descended into his posteritie. But what is this to the cause of Adams fall. Whys concupiscence was not in Adam befoze his fall. It could not therefore be the cause therof. And as I haue declared befoze: Adams fall could not be the cause of all sinne: for sinne was befoze Adam fell. We knowe that sinne is not a creature: but it is a falling away of the creature from that order that the Creato^r did commaunde the creature to continue in. But this was in y^e Angels, Ergo befoze the fall of mā. By y^e fall of man therfoze was declared what mans frēwill was able to do. It was able to admit sinne, and so by frēwill sinne entred into man, and by man into the world, that is into all naturall men. And yet we say not, that either mans frēwill or man himselfe is euill, as he is Gods creature, and frēwill Gods gifte. I conclude therfoze, that as the fall of Adam was the performance of Gods purpose, so was it no sinne, but exceeding good, as euery performance of Gods purposes muste needes be. And so the Predestination of God being the cause therof, is no cause of sinne. Let Cerberus maruel as much as he will, how we can graunt God to be the cause and not the Autour of sinne. For we do not say that Gods Predestination is the cause of sinne. Much lesse doe we say that he is the Autour, as Cerberus doth charge vs by occasiō of certayne wordes w^ritten by Iohn Knoxe against an aduersarie of Gods Predestination.

Although

An Apologie of Crowley

Although Iohn Knoxe being yet liuing, & able to defend his owne writings, I might refer Cerberus to his aunswere: yet I wil not sticke to write a few lines in the defence of his doctrine in this point. Cerberus seemeth to mislike with Knoxe for two things: one is, for that he saith that we assigne to the prouidence of God, all things that the Ethnickes and Ignoraunt attributed vnto fortune. And the other is, for that he saith that we know and beholde God to be, not onely the principall cause, but also the authour of all things, appointing them to the one parte or to the other by his counsell. This is (sayth Cerberus) suche a wyde wandring blasphemie, as hath not lightly bene hearde of. And although Cerberus would haue vs marke the wordes, & the very sense of the, as though he would set forth the same so plainly, that al men might easely perceyue the meaning of the: yet with his leaue, he sheweth that he himselfe did not see that he would haue other to marke. For what mad man would write words in such meaning, as Cerberus would haue vs thinke that Iohn Knoxe wrote his? That is, to call God deceptfull, vnfaithful, and vntrusty: Rough, hard, fierce and cruel: Balwy, beastly, and shamelesse: Imperious, malapert, and proude: Blinde, and wythout eyes: Wicked, to be abhorred, and altogether naught: As there euer man so farre beside himself, as to write of God in this meaning? I durst appeale to Cerberus himselfe (though he be the dogge of Hell) whyther in conscience he doe thinke that it were possible that any reasonable man may so far forget him selfe, as to write words in any such meaning. Let Cerberus therfore, loke better vpon Iohn Knoxe words, and seke a better sense in them than this. If he wil do so, he shall finde that Iohn Knoxe meaning is, that where as the Ethnickes and Ignorant attributed vnto fortune, a power to giue or take away,
to

to preserve or destroy, to helpe or to hinder. *Wile* which knowe y^e there is no such power in any other thā in God, do assigne all these things to his p^rouidence: knowing y^e nothing commeth to passe by Fortune or chaūce, but that God by his p^rouidence doth gouerne and rule all things, appoynting them to the one parte, or the other, by hys counsell. And when he appointeth anye to that thing which in them is sinne (as was the murder of Sinatharib in his owne sonnes) yet in Gods purpose it is good, for it is the execution of his iust iudgement, or the meane wherby his glorie shal be the more aduanced in shewing mercie. If Cerberus be not certified with this aunswere, let him seke for further aunswere at the hands of him whose writings he hath so maliciously peruerbed.

Cerberus.

But now to returne againe to *Crowley*. After that he hath written, that Gods predestination is the onlie cause of Adams fall, then goeth he forth in the same booke, and the same Article, vnto the next execrable wickednesse, committed in the world, saying: Now, what say we to Cain: was he not predestinated to slea his brother? No, saye the freewill men. Here thou seest dearly beloued, who they are that so odiously are noted with the name of freewill men. Not only the Papistes, against whom he pretendeth there to wryte: but namely all those that saye, God hath not predestinate any man to commit murder, or such like wycked abomination. These call they freewill men, these cal they Pelagians. In dede such as so maintayn freewill, that a mā by freewill wythout the grace and helpe of God, may abstayne from euill, or do good, as the blinde Papistes doe, and as before it

M. j.

is

An Apologie of Crowley

is proued, that *Pelagius* did holde, or as before is rehearsed, that *Willyam Samuell* sayth: that man maye deserue God: those I saye, might worthily be called Pelagians, bicause they hold, eyther al, or some part of hys errours. But those which teach, that all murder and mischief spryngeth out of Gods predestination, or that any mansleauer is predestinate of God to kyll hys neighbour, or any adulterer to lye with his neyghbours wyfe, or any traytour predestinate of God, to conspire against hys Prince, or any rebell to ryse against his Soueraigne, as these men most plainly affyrme: they holde in thys poynt the error of the Manicheans, whych was as ye hearde before, by the wordes of Austen. *Hominem peccatum vitare non posse.* That a man can not eschewe euill, or can not choose but commit sinne. These men, I say, whych affyrme that Caine was predestinate to murder hys innocent brother Abell. And as in the same booke and the same Article also, he sayth, that the most wicked persons that haue bene, were of God appointed to bee wyc-ked euen as they were. They hold the error both of the Stoikes, and also of the Manicheans. That is to say, as Austen declareth in the ninth & xvi. chapter of the first booke of his Retractions: that euil hath his original of Gods ordinance, & not of mans free-wil. For if murderers, theues, adulterers, traitours, & Rebelles be of God predestinated and appoynted to be wicked euē as they are, and can not choose but of mere necessitie by the ordinance of God commit, al such wickednesse, euen as they do: then what is our lyfe but a mere destinie, all our doyns Gods ordynaunces, and all oure imaginations, braunches of Gods predestinatiō? And I doubt not, but the Stoikes and Manicheans, would also temper the matter wyth

wyth a great discretion of wordes, as these men wyll saye, that we must speake more reuerentlie of the matter. But seyng they plainly holde these principles, and when they see theyr tyme, speake plainly thereof them selues, as you maye well perceyue by that whych hath alredy, and shal yet be more largely rehearsed : I see no cause why it should not of al me be plainly declared . Agayne, if it be a trueth , why should it not be plainly spoken, if it be a truth, that traitours be predestinate of God to conspire the destruction of their Princes, and Rebels predestinate of God to make insurrection against their soueraines: If (I say) it be a trueth, that God hath so predestinated the, & that they must of necessity, & can not choose but commit such wyckednesse : why shoulde it not be plainly spoken ? except a man should be ashamed to speake the trueth. But in what Scripture is that written ? Or is it not rather written. For thy lyfe, shame not to say the trueth. And surelye to say as it is : I see not well howe any man can speake more plainly in thys matter than they them selues doe. For what can more plainly be spokē: thā that Gods predestination is the cause of Adams fall ? And that Caine was predestinate to slea his brother ? And that God is both the principal cause, and also the author of all thyngs, both on the one side and on the other, appoynting al things to al men. And whatsoeuer the Ethnicks ascribed vnto fortune : that same we ought to attribute vnto the prouidence of God. And that the most wycked persons that haue bene : were of God appointed to be wicked euen as they were.

Ecclef. 4.

Crowley.

pp. 4.

Here

An Apologie of Crowley

Here it appeareth, that the chiefe quarrell that Cerberus had, when he wrote this aunswere to his friends letter, was against Crowley. If the spirit of loue had led him, he might haue had conference wth Crowley (for belike he knoweth him well ynough) & not thus maliciously by setting out his answere in print, haue gone about as much as lieth in him, not only to discredit the doctrine y^e Crowley preacheth: but also to bring him in displeasure with his Prince, as one y^e teacheth theues, murderers, traitors & rebels, & al other naughty persons to defend their wickednesse by Gods predestination & ordinance. But Crowley shal by Gods helpe, be able to cleare him selfe of all this, & to make the malice of Cerberus so knowne to al men, that he shal from henceforth haue little credit amog such as doe not fauour the error of our new Pelagians.

For answere to al y^e Cerberus hath in this his returne to Crowley, written, I might referre the Reader to that whiche I haue already written. But least Cerberus should thinke that that were but a shift, I will aunswere to his Tautologie, or repetition of the same wordes and matter that is befoze written and answered, and chiefly because he doth here inferre moze playnely that which befoze he meaneth to conclude.

I haue saide, that Gods predestination was the onely cause of Adams fall, that Caine was predestinate to slea his brother Abell, and that the most wicked persons that haue bene, were of God appointed to be wicked, eu^e as they were. For the first, I referre the Reader to that whiche I haue already written thereof. For the seconde, I say: that as God predestinated Abell to be a figure of Christ and his Church in suffering, so he predestinated Caine to be a figure of the cruell persecuting Jewes & other, that haue, do, & shall persecute Christ & his Church. And as Caine in sleaing his brother Abell was a figure
of

of the cruell persecutours, so was not the murder euill : but as it was the execution of Caines wicked will, it was abhominable sinne, and deserued no lesse punishment at Gods hand, than it had in deede. And as concerning the power of Caines will, whereby he consented to do this deede : it was altogether bound to the will of Satan, by the sinne that his Father Adam had first committed, & was not deliuered from that bondage, bicause he was none of them whome Iesus Christ, the sonne of God had deliuered and made free : as doeth well appeare by that he sayeth : My sinne is greater than that it can be forgiven. He had not receyued the spirite of Adoption, whereby he might cry Abba, Father. Wherefore, it is manifest, that whatsoever he did, was abhominable in Gods sight, for he lacked fayth whereby mennes workes are made acceptable before God. For without it, it is impossible to please God. As it is written. *Sine fide impossibile est placere Deo.* Without fayth, it is not possible to please God. And hereof it came, that is written *Ad Cainenim & munera eius Deus non respexit.* God had no regarde to Caine and his oblations. For euen his verie oblations which he offered, were sinne in the sight of God, according to the wordes of Saint Paule. *Quicquid ex fide non est, peccatum est.* Whatsoever is not of faith, the same is sinne. How can it be then, but that the murder of his brother must be sinne, as it was the execution of his malicious purpose : but as it is the performance of Gods purpose, it can not be but good. The lyke is to be saide of the murder & the sonnes of Sinacharib committed vpon their owne father, and the rebellion of Absolom, the whoredome of the same, the thefte of the Sabines, and whatsoever wickednesse we reade of. For God had sayde before, that he woulde slea Sinacharib with the sword, and that the sword should not depart from Da-

Hebr. 11.

Genes. 4.

Rom. 14.

4. Reg. 19.

2. Reg. 16.

An Apologie of Crowley

2. Reg. 12.
Iob. 1.

uolds house. And Job sayde : The Lorde hath taken a way. In that Cerberus therefore, hath taken vpon him to write thus maliciouslye againste me and others that teach the true doctrine of Gods euerlasting predestinati- on : he is not by our doctrine iustified from sinne therein, althoughe in the purpose of God the same be good (for it is the stirring vp of me and others, to loke moze diligent- ly to the teaching of that doctrine, in suche sorte that the weake Christians be not offended, neyther the enemies occasioned to blaspheme) but when Cerberus and we shall stand befoze the iudgement seat of Christ together : then shall it appeare with what mynde wee haue both written. For his malice towards Crowley can not then be couered.

Ecclef. 4.

Shame

And where as Cerberus woulde know, where it is written that all truth should not be playnely spoken : let him aske Sainct Paule why he would first feede his hear- ers with mylke, and afterwarde with stronger meate. And let him aske our Saviour Christ, why he sayd that olde bottles coulde not holde new Wyne, and that ther- fore men vse to put newe Wyne into new vesselles that both maye be preserued together. And as for hys place that he citeth out of Sirache, (For thy lyfe shame not to say the truth) I refer to the Reader to consider and weigh by the circumstance of the place. Wherby it shal appeare how well it maketh for hys purpose. Sirach sayth: For thy lyfe shame not to saye the trueth, for there is a shame that bringeth sinne, & there is a sinne that bringeth glo- ry & fauour. Now, how can Cerberus proue by this place that a preacher must without discretion vtter all truth at all times & in al places : It is manifest that Sirach mea- neth to instruct all men, that shame should not stave vs from confessing the trueth of our owne euyl, when we are deprehended therein : for that shame bringeth sinne. (That

(That is, causeth vs to lie in hyding our olone faults be-
foze committed) but the other shame, that is, to doe that
which is not honest, bringeth gloze and fauour. Shame
therefoze sayth Sirach, to do euil : but fo: thy life, shame
not to confesse the euill that thou hast once done, and art
taken withal, or vehemently suspected therof. But (sayth
Cerberus) how can any man speake moze plainly of this
matter, than they theselues doe? Fo: what can be moze
plainely spoken: than that Gods Predestination is the
cause of Adams fall: And that Caine was predestinated
to slea his brother: And that God is both the principall
cause & also the Autho: of al things, both on the one syde
and on the other. &c. Al this is sufficiently answered al-
ready. But y cause, why in our wrytings we vse so plaine
wordes in this matter: is, fo: that we haue not to doe
with babes that neede milke, but with open enimies, that
vnder colour to cleare God of iniquitie, go about to take
from him the gloze of his almighty power, and libertie,
to do what he will do with his olone creatures, without
checke or controlement: And to ascribe to the power of
their olone free will, that gloze that the free mercy of God
deserueth. We doe not this therefore in our common or-
der of teaching, but being enforced by the malice of such
as Cerberus is.

Cerberus.

And further, in the same booke and the same Article.
Yea, I am sure (sayth he) that you will graunt, that if
God doe predestinate a man to do things rashly and
without any deliberation: he shall not deliberate at
all, but runne headlong vpon it, be it good or euill
that he doth. He maketh also an argument after this
sort, saying: Whatsoeuer God foreseeth and prede-
stina-

An Apologie of Crowley

destinateth : must necessarily come to passe (for his prescience and predestination are infallible) but he foreseeth and predestinateth al things: *Ergo* al things must come to passe of necessitie. The *minor* of which Argument is apparantly false. For though God doe foresee all things : yet doeth he not predestinate all things . For his foresight doeth extende both to good and euill : but his predestination is onelye of things that be good . As the Scriptures and all ancient writers proue . And here againe it is to be noted also: how plainely they make God the Authour of sinne . For if this *maior* be true, that God doth not onely foresee, but also predestinate all things: Yea, euen sinne and euill , as the fall of Adam, and the murder of Caine, and the wickednesse of all them that haue bene most wycked : then may this *minor* be truely annexed: That God is the Authour of al that he predestinateth. And so must this conclusion needes follow : that God is the Authour of all sinne and euill . The first parte, that God predestinateth all thinges, or all that he foreseeth : is a proposition of their own assertiō, without any ambiguitie or doubtful meaning. The seconde part, that God is the Authour of al that he predestinateth, is mine assertion. Which is so manifest and true, that they haue scarce any maner of colour to deny it. For what is it to predestinate any thing? but first to purpose, decree, and appoint, and ordeine it to be done? Now, he which first purposeth, decreeth, appointeth, ordeineth, or inuēteth a thing to be done: is not he the Author of the same? Or is not he rightly to be called *Causa, Origin, Fons: Radix, Principium, Autor*? The Cause, Originall, Fountaine, Roote, Beginning or Authour of the same? He which first purposeth, decreeth, apointeth,

teth, and ordeineth an Insurrection or Rebellion to be made against his Prince: is not he to be apprehended as the very Authour of al the sedition, and worthily and rightly to be iudged and called? What mā can be so ignorant: as not to perceiue it? For all the worlde knoweth, that for none other cause, one is sayde to be the Authour of any thing, but onely, for that he is eyther the first inuētor, or else the first purposer, appointer, & ordeiner of the same. And also, whosoever is the first inuentor, or else the first ordeiner of any thing: most properly he is sayd to be the Authour of the same. Nowe, marke againe the Argument, and see how the conclusion followeth. God predestinateth all things, yea, euen sinne and euill: And God is the Author of all that he predestinateth, as hath bene plainly proued: *Ergo*, he is the Authour of sinne. This must needs follow, if the first proposition be graunted. That God predestinateth or ordeineth al things, or al that he foreseeeth. Wherefore, the olde writers, in confutation of the Manicheans, laboured in nothing so much, as to proue, that although God did foresee all things, both good and euill: yet dyd he onely foresee, and not predestinate those things which are euill. As by an infinite number of places, out of the auncient writers, if shortnesse would suffer, I could easely proue. But one place of Austen, I wil rehearse, which doth not onely resolute clearly this matter betwene foresight and foreordinaunce: or betwene the prescience and predestination: but also most plainly teacheth, al that is to be sayde of predestination. *Prosper. Ad obiection. Vince.* Rehearsing the words, and defending the opinion of Austen, where he proueth that the Diuell can scarcely be called the Authour of sinne, bycause

An Apologie of Crowley

it came of mans owne will, and asketh by what madnesse and frensie men doe attribute that vnto God, which can not be altogether ascribed vnto the Deuill. And at the last he concludeth with these words of Austen.

Nihil ergo talium negotiorum Deus prædestinauit ut fieret: nec illam animã nequiter turpiterq; victuram, ad hoc ut taliter viveret præparauit: sed talem futuram non ignorauit, & de tali in se se iudicaturum esse præsciuit: atq; ita ad prædestinationem eius nihil aliud referri potest, nisi quod aut ad debitam iustitiæ retributionem, aut ad indebitam pertinet gratiæ largitatem.

Therefore (sayth he) God hath predestinated no part of any such doings, neither the soule, which afterwarde liued wickedly and filthily, hath he prepared to that ende that it should so liue: but he was not ignorant that such a one it would be. And so nothing may be referred to the predestination of God: but onely that which pertayneth vnto the due recompence of his righteoulnesse, or to the vnderferued gift of his grace. These are the wordes of Austen. which surely are maruellous ful of pith, conteyning the whole summe of that which may be sayde in this matter of Gods predestinatiõ, and are therefore most worthie to be noted, yea, and to be committed to heart, or kept in perpetual memorie. For being thoroughly weyghed, they do plainly set forth, the full resolution of all this question.

Crowley.

Cerberus is so maliciously bente agaynst Crowley, that he can kepe no order in charging him with that that he hath witten agaynst Shaxton. For this (yea, I am sure) wherwith he chargeth me here, standeth in my booke
more

more than eyghte whole leaues after the Argument that he findeth such fault with. Yea, it is parte of that which I doe inferre vpon the confession of Shaxton himselfe, in his Article that I confute, after I had by many Scriptures proued the *minor* proposition of that Argument. But who can hope that Cerberus can with his three mouthes kepe order in his barking? Let me (if I can) answer him in order, vnto that wherewith he doth so vnoorderly charge me.

First he saith, that I say that I am sure that Shaxton will graunt, that if God doe predestinate a man to doe things rashly and without any deliberation, he shall not deliberate at al, but runne headlong vpon it, be it good or euill that he doth. Nowe let vs see what Cerberus hath sayde to this. He seemeth to make a great matter of it: For he beginneth thus: And further. As though y^e where, with he wyl now charge Crowley, is more to be detested than the rest that is already spoken of. And yet when he hath made rehearsall of the wordes: he seemeth by silence to allowe them. Wherefore, I will be bolde to say to Cerberus, as I dyd to Shaxton. I am sure that you will graunt. &c.

But as one that vnauidedly had gone about to finde fault with wordes that he was not able iustly to disproue: Cerberus leaueth these wordes, and returneth to an Argument that I wrote well most nyne leaues before, and saith. He maketh also an Argumēt after this sort, saying: Whatsoeuer God foreseeeth and predestinateth, must necessarily come to passe (for his prescience and predestination are infallible) but he foreseeeth & predestinateth al things. Ergo, all thinges muste come to passe of necessitie. Here Cerberus hath found matter to babble about. The *major* proposition of this Argument he findeth no fault withal. Wherefore I wyl suppose that he thinketh it to be true,

P. y.

that

An Apologie of Crowley

that whatsoeuer God foreseeeth and predestinateth, must necessarily come to passe. But by Cerberus owne confession, God foreseeeth & predestinateth all good things. *Ergo*, all good thinges come to passe of necessitie. Thus much haue we gotten of Cerberus. So that if it be a Stoicall opinion, to say that al things come to passe of necessitie: yet Cerberus shall not be so cleare from it as he woulde seeme to be.

But my *minor* proposition must be apparantly false. For though God do foresee al things, yet doth he predestinate only those things which are good, as the scriptures & auncient writers doe proue. So that nowe there remaineth no more to be proued by me, but that God predestinateth those things that be euill. Which thing if I can proue: Cerberus and I are agreed.

Well, If Cerberus would be entreated to beleue all that I haue written in the former part of this Apologie: then should the controuersie betwixt vs, sone be ended. For I haue sayde, that euen those things, that are worst in mans doings, are good in Gods purpose. As the consenting to the persuation of the Serpent in the first man: the murder of Abel in Caine, & those wyckednesses that others haue wrought: were in Gods purpose good, although in those that did those things, they were exceeding euill. For then hath Cerberus graunted, that God doth predestinate them, and so consequently he hath graunted that they come to passe of necessitie, as those things that God predestinateth must needes doe. But whether Cerberus wll beleue that which I haue written or no: I will by Gods help proue that those actions which in man are most wicked, were predestinated by God to be done: And then I trowe mine Argument shal conclude aright, notwithstanding ought that Cerberus shalbe able to say to the contrarie.

And

And least we shoulde varie aboute predestination, as not agreing vpon the definition what it is: I am contented to take that description which Cerberus hym selfe hath made of it. He sayth, that to predestinate any thing, is first to purpose, decree, apoynt, or ordeyne it to be done. But God hath first decreed to be done all the euil things as euer were done by men: *Ergo*, he hath predestinated euils. The *minor* in this argument is proued by that that is witten in the fourth Chapter of the Actes of the Apostles. *Conuenerunt enim in Ciuitate ista, aduersus filium tuum Iesum, quem vixisti, Herodes & Pontius Pilatus, cum gentibus & populis Israel: ad faciendum quacunque manus tua & consiliū tuum decreuerunt fieri.* That is to say. In this same Citie (meaning Ierusalem) Herode and Pontius Pilate, with the Heathen and the people of Israell, gathered themselves together, agaynst thy childe Iesus whome thou hast annoynted: to doe vnto him whatsoeuer things thy hand and counsell haue first decreed to be done. What those things were, it is manifest in the hystorie of the Gospels. They called him a Samaritane, they sayd he had a diuel, they sought to take him in his answers, they went about to stone him to death, they accused him, they condemned him, and fastened him to a Crosse, & then rapled vpon him. What could men do worse than to vse themselves so towarde the sonne of God: But S. Peter sayth, that all these things were done according as the hand & counsel of God had first decreed to be done: Wherefore I think my *minor* in my first Argument that Cerberus findeth such fault withall, to be sufficiently proued.

But nowe Cerberus hath made of my *minor*, a *maior*, and framed an Argument for his purpose, which I must say some thing to, otherwise wyl Cerberus glozie in his Arte.

God doth not onely foresee, but also predestinate all things,

An Apologie of Crowley

things, yea, euen sinne and euill. &c. But he is Authour of all that he predestineth : *Ergo*, he is the Authour of sinne. The first part (saith Cerberus) is their owne assertion. And for my part, I acknowledge it so to be. But not in that meaning that Cerberus sayth it. For it is not our bare assertion without proufe, but we are able by playne Scriptures and reasons, to proue that God doth both foresee and predestinate all things, as I haue before proued in the confirming of this same proposition, being the *minor* in mine Argument. But for more ample proufe : the Reader may consider that which is written in the Psalm 138. where Dauid the Prophet sayth thus. Lord, thou hast proued me, and hast knowe me. Thou hast knowen my downesitting and my vprysing. Thou vnderstandest my thoughts long since. Thou hast searched my path and my couth rounde about, and hast foreseene all my wayes. For loe, there is not a worde in my mouth: Beholde, thou Lord knowest all things. This is sufficient for the proufe of the first parte of this proposition. Which is, that God foreseeth all things. For the proufe of the second part, which is, that God predestineth all things : I haue cited the words of Peter in the fourth of the Acts : wherein is affirmed, & the power & counsel of God did first appoint those things to be done, which were done to Christ by Herod, Pilate, the Gentiles, & the people of the Jewes.

Reasons also we haue to proue the same, which are these. If God should not foresee all things, he could not be prouident in all things : but it must needes be graunted that he is prouident in al things : *Ergo*, he doth foresee all things. If God did not predestinate all things, then might his prouidence be deceyued: but his prouidence can not be deceyued : *Ergo*, he doth predestinate all thinges. This may suffice for the proufe of our assertion. Now let vs see, howe Cerberus annexeth hys *minor* to this *maior*, which

which is this. But God is the Authoꝝ of all those things that he predestinateth. And to proue this doth Cerberus make much a doe, yea and much more than needeth. For we will not sticke to graunt him that God is the Authoꝝ of all that he predestinateth. Well sayth Cerberus, then I conclude, that God is the Authoꝝ of all sinne & euill. I denie that Argument.

It were but follie to reason much with this bawling Curte, about the rules of Logicke: For it seemeth by his conclusion that he knoweth no Logicke at all. For if he did, he would not so shamelesly inferre a necessarie conclusion vpon the graunting of pure particulers. For it is a generall rule among Logicians, that *A puris particularibus non necesse est sequi veram conclusionem*. It is not a thing of necessitie, that a true conclusion should followe vpon those propositions that be pure particulers. As in this Argument that Cerberus hath made, the *maior* and *minor* are. Agayne, he concludeth more than is graunted in the Antecedēt (which is also contrary to the rules of Logick) For though it be graunted, that God is the Authoꝝ of all that he predestinateth: yet is he not the Authoꝝ, as Cerberus doth conclude that he is: What is to say, the cause, the spring, the fountaine, the roote, the beginning and Authoꝝ of any thing that is not good. For none euil thing can spring of him that is altogether good & nothing but goodnesse it selfe. As I haue sayd already therefore: So I say agayne. God is the cause, spring, fountaine, roote, beginning and Authoꝝ of al things that haue any being. For he only hath his being of hymself: & all other things haue their being of him. And he alone is the worker of al actions: *Nam in eo viuimus, mouemur & sumus*. In hym we lyue, moue, & haue our being. And as these things spring of God the fountaine of goodnesse, so are they al exceeding good. And as the actiōs are wrought by him so are they exceeding

A. 17.

An Apologie of Crowley

ceeding good also: although in themselves they be exceeding euill, as is the Diuell and al his Angels and members, and all those works that are wrought contrary to the commandement of God. And the wordes and thoughts that are of the same kinde. As I haue sufficiently proued before, by examples taken out of the holy histories.

Let Cerberus therefore looke vpon his Logick againe, and learne to frame a Syllogismus better. Peraduenture being in his mad mode when he wrote this answer to his friends letter: he had quite forgotten the fourtene modes of the three figures, wherein the Logicians do vse to forme their Syllogismuses. To giue him occasion therefore, to call himselfe to remembrance: I will set downe those short memoriall Verses which the teachers of Arte vse to print in the minds of their Scholers, to the end that they should not in disputations be abused by such as Cerberus is, which vse to frame Arguments, without either figure or mode. The Verses are these.

*Barbara, Celarent, Prima, Darī, Ferioq̃,
Cesare, Camestres, Festino, Baroco, secunde.
Tertia grande sonans, recitat Darapti Felapton
Adiungens Disamis, Datisi, Bocardo, Ferison.*

Solow, if Cerberus be acquainted with these Verses: Let him shewe in which of these figures and modes his Syllogismus is formed. And if he find it in none of the: then let hym desire some more skilfull than himselfe, to take this matter in hande. For his Arte will not serue him to goe thorow withall, so long as he medleth with them that knowe what Arte is.

I know that the matter contained in Cerberus Syllogisme, may be brought into the forme of a Syllogisme in the first figure, and the thirde mode called *Darī*. After

ter this manner. Whosoever doth predestinate any thing, is the Autho^r thereof. But God doth predestinate sinne. Ergo, he is the Autho^r thereof. Thus farre I haue holpen Cerberus to frame his Argument. But least Cerberus should thinke that I haue framed against my selfe such an Argument as I am not able to solute: I wyll shewe the fallace of it. First in the *maior*, the word Autho^r is doubtfull. For it may be vnderstanded eyther of him that predestinateth o^r fo^reappointeth a thing to be done, o^r of him that is the doer of the same thing. And therfore in reasoning it must be explaned and made voide of all amphibologie and doubt. For this is a rule in Logicke, that the termes which are vsed in reasoning, must be plaine and voyd of all doubtfulnesse. If we will therfore make a good *maior* in this Argument, we must say, that whosoever doth predestinate o^r fo^reappoint a thing to be done, is so the Autho^r of it, that the acte o^r deede done, must be ascribed to him, in as much as it is a deede o^r an act done. And then may we adde this *minor*, but God hath predestinated and fo^reappointed the acte o^r deede that is done by the sinner: Ergo, so farre forth as it is an acte o^r a deede, God is the Autho^r of it. Here is not God charged with the sinne that man committeth, fo^r that springeth of mas choyse, which being corrupted and made bonde to sinne by the sinne that the first man first committed, can not of it selfe chose to do any thing in such sort, that the same shall not be sinne. For mans wisdom and choyse, which S. Paule calleth the wisdom of the flesh, neyther is, no^r can be subiect to the lawe of God. And so all that man thinketh, speaketh o^r doth in his owne wisdom & choyse, is against the law & commaundement of God, & so sinne by the cōmon definition of sinne, as is mentioned before.

And to make this matter moze plaine, let vs take one example o^r two, whereof in the holie Histories & booke

An Apologie of Crowley

4. Reg. 19.

of the Prophetes, we haue many, and let vs see how God is the Autho^r of the acte or deede, and not of the sinne that is in the acte. First in the .xix. Chapter of the fourth booke of h Kings, we read, that when Sinacharib had blasphemed God, and Ezechias the King had made his complaint and praers to God: the Prophet Esay was commaunded to say thus vnto the King. Be not afraid of the wordes wherewith ye haue heard the King of the Assirians seruants blaspheming me. Beholde, I will chaunge his minde, and he shall heare a tidings, and shall returne into his owne country, & I will ouerthrow him with the sword in his owne land. And in the end of h same Chapter, the Historie sayth thus. And when he was worshipping in the Temple of Astarte his God: Adramelch & Saraser his owne sonnes, slew him with the sword. Here it is manifest, that God according to his promise made to Ezechias, hath killed Sinacharib: but yet by h sword of his owne sonnes. The acte in this murder is Gods, and so it is exceeding good, for it is the performance of Gods promise, and the execution of iust iudgement vpon the wicked blasphemer. But the sinne of the acte, was theirs whose handes were instruments to murder their father. For they minded nothing lesse than to fulfill Gods promise, or to execute his iudgement vpon the blasphemer.

E/sy. 10.

The same example we read in the .x. chapter of Esay the Prophet, set forth yet more plainly after this sort. Come Assur, thou rodde of my furie, and the staffe of my wrath, amongst these men. &c. And a little after. But he will not think so, and his heart will not be so perswaded: but his purpose will be to destroy, and to bring many Nations to naught. &c. Here we see, how God bled Sinacharib as his rod in chastising the Nations: and yet did he sinne in those actions that God wrought by him. And we see also how God bled his sonnes, in destroying him,

him, and yet they sinned in murdering their Father. So is God the Authour of the acte, which was good in him, and they Authours of the sinne of the acte, which was euill in them.

Another example we haue written in the. xij. chapter of the second booke of the Kings, where the Prophet Isthathan sayth thus to King Dauid. Thus sayth the Lord. Beholde, I will stirre vp euill against thee in thine own house, and I will take from thee thy wiues, euen before thy face, and will giue them to thy neighbour, & he shall lie with them in the open sunnelight. Thou haste done this dede in secrete: but I will doe this that I haue spoken of, euen in the sight of all Israell, and in the open sunnelight. The fulfilling of this is written in the. xvi. Chapter of the same booke. The acte whereof wrought by Absolome, was in God, who bled Absolome as his instrument, the iust punishment that Dauids sinne, in abusing Urias wife, had deserued. But the same in Absolome, was abhominable and incestuous whoredome, whereby Absolome minded to make all Israell thynke, that he abhorred his father, and that he would vtterly rote him out.

Let this suffice for the making plaine of that whych I haue said, concerning that which I haue said, touching the acte in God, and sinne of the wicked acte in man.

Thus much for the matter of Cerberus Argument reduced into forme.

Nowe let vs see what may be sayd to that one place, that in steede of so many, Cerberus citeth out of S. Austen. Which doth not onely resolue clearely this matter betwene foresight and predestination, but also moste plainely teach all that is to be said of Predestination.

And first, let vs set downe al the words of S. Austen, euen as they stande in the place whereout Prosper doth

D. ij.

cits

An Apologie of Crowley

Articulo. II.
fals. Aug. imp

elſe them. They are writtē in the eleauenth of thoſe Articles, which are falſly impoſed vpon S. Auſten. The wordes of the Article are theſe. *Quādo patres inceſtant filias, & matres filij, vel quando ſerui Dominos occidūt, ided fiat, quia Deus predeſtinauit, vt ita fieret.* That when the fathers do abuſe theyr owne daughters, and ſonnes theyr owne mothers, and ſeruantes murder theyr owne maſters, the ſame is done, bicauſe God hath predeſtinated that it ſhould be ſo done. To this Article doth S. Auſten aunſwere thus. *Si Diabolo obijceretur, quōd talium facinorum ipſe Autor, ipſe eſet inuentor: puto quōd aliqua ratione hac ſe poſſet exonerare inuidia, & talium ſcelerum patratorem, de ipſorum voluntate vinceret: quia, et ſi delectatus ſit furore peccantium, probaret tandem ſe nō intuliſſe vim criminum. Quia ergo inſipientia, quauē dementia definitur, ad Dei reſerrendum eſſe conſiliū, quod nec Diabolo in toto aſcribi poteſt: qui in peccantium flagitijs, illecebrarum adiutor, nō voluntatum credendus eſt eſſe generātor? Nihil ergo talium negotiorum, Deus predeſtinauit vt fieret, nec illam animam, ſturpiter, nequiterq; victuram ad hoc vt taliter inueneret preparauit, ſed talem futuram nō ignorauit & de tali ſe iuſtē iudicaturum eſſe preſciuit. Atq; ita ad predeſtinationem eius nihil amplius reſerri poteſt, niſi quōd ad debitam iuſtitia retributionem, aut ad indebitam pertinet gratia largitate.* That is to ſay. If it ſhould be layd to the Diuels charge, that he were the Authour or inuentor of ſuch wicked deedes: I ſuppoſe he might by ſome reaſon vnburden himſelfe of this enuie, and to proue that the comitter of ſuch wickedneſſes, comineth of the will of thoſe men that charge him withall. For although he be delited with the outrage of them that ſinne: yet might he proue that he had not enforced them to commit the faultes. By what folly, or what madneſſe therefore, is it agreed, that that thing ſhould be referred to the decreē of God, which may not be altogether aſcribed to the Diuell, which may be thought

thought to be an helper forwarde of the prouocations, in the wicked actes of them that sinne, but not the begetter of their willes. God therefore hath not predestinated any such things to be done, neyther hath he prepared that soule to liue filthily and wickedly, of purpose that it should so liue: but he was not ignorant that it would proue such a one, and he knewe before hand, that he him selfe should execute iust iudgement vpon such a one. And so, nothing may be referred to the predestinatiō of God, more than that, which appertaineth to the due rewarde of iustice, or to the vnderferued gyft of grace or mercy.

These wordes (sayth Cerberus) being thorowly weyghed: do plainly set forth, the full resolution of this question. It is very true, they do so. And therefore, I beseech thee good Reader, weigh them well, that thou maist by them be resolved in this matter of Gods predestination. And that thou mayst so be, thou needest no more but to weigh the wordes of Austens conclusion, wherein he sayth, that there can no more be referred to Gods predestination, but that only which doth appertaine eyther to the due rewarde of iustice, or else to the vnderferued gift of mercie.

When Sinacharibs sonnes slew their owne father: was not the acte in this murder & due rewarde of iustice, for that he had blasphemed God: And had not God sayd before, that he would slea him with the sword for that blasphemie: Why may we not then by S. Austens wordes, referre this deepe to Gods predestination: The Absolom abused his fathers wyues, was not the acte of that incestuous whoredome, the due rewarde of iustyce, for that Dauid had abused the wife of his seruant Urias: And had not God sayd before, that he would punish it so: Why should not the acte therefore, in that incest, be referred to Gods predestination, even by these wordes

Dist.

that

An Apologie of Crowley

that Cerberus citeth for his purpose. In like maner may we say of all other actions, which in the men that do the are wicked, although we know not what sinnes God doth punish by them, whereby the same dedes in him are exceeding good and iust.

*August. de
Ciu. Dei. 18.
Cap. 49.*

If Cerberus would, he might haue seene some other places of S. Austen, wherein this matter is made more plaine, than the bare wordes seeme to make it here. First in his. xviij. booke, *De Ciuitate Dei*. He sayth thus. *Elegit discipulos, quos & Apostolos nominauit, humiliter natos, in honores, illitteratos: ut quicquid magnum essent & facerent, ipse in eis esset & faceret. Habuit inter eos unum, quo malo utens bene, & sue passionis dispositum impleceret, & Ecclesie sue tollerandorum malorum praeberet exemplum.* That is to say. He (that is to say Christ) did chosse Disciples, whom he called also Apostles, men bozne of poore parentes, not called to honour, vnlearned: that he might be and do in them, what so euer they should be, or do. Among these he had one that was naught, that by vsing well that euill and naughtie one, he might both fulfill the order of his owne passion, and also giue vnto his Church, an example how to beare and suffer those that be wicked.

*August. in
Psalm. 34.*

Againe, in his first Sermon vpon the first part of the. 34. Psalm: S. Austen sayth thus: *Ille videbat traditorem suum, & elegit illum magis ad opus necessarium, illius malo magnum bonum operatus est. Et tamen inter duodecem electus est, ne ipse duodenarius tam exiguus numerus esset sine malo: hoc ad exemplum nostrae patientiae, quoniam necesse erat ut inter malos viveremus.* That is to say: He (that is Christ) did see and know him that should betraie him, and he did the rather chosse him as one necessarie for that businesse, and by the euill of that traytoure he did worke a great good worke. And yet was the traitour chosen among the twelue, lest that little number of. xij. should be without a naughtie one:

one : this was done for an example of our patience, by
cause of necessitie we must lye among such as be euill.

Againe in the.59. tract. vpon Iohn he saith. *Quod ergo dico,* August. in
inquit, beati eritis, si feceritis ea, non de oibus vobis dico. Est inter Iohn. tract. 59.
vos qui non erit beatus, neq, faciet ea, & ego scio quos elegerim :
quos? nisi eos qui beati erunt faciendo quae praecepit, ac facienda
monstrauit, qui efficere beatos potest? Non est igitur traditor Iu-
das electus? Quid est ergo quod alio loco dicit? Nonne ego vos
duodecem elegi, & unus ex vobis Diabolus est? An & ipse ad
aliquid electus est, ad quod utiq, erat necessarius? Non autem ad
beatitudinem, de qua modo ait, Beati eritis si feceritis ea. Hoc non
de omnibus dicit, scit enim quos ad societatem beatitudinis huius
elegerit. Non est ex eis iste, qui panem illius sic edebat, vt super eu
leuaret calcaneum. &c.

That is to say: **W**here as I say therfore (saith Christ)
ye shalbe happie, if ye shal do those things: I do not speak
those words of you al. There is one amongst you y^e shall
not be happie, neyther shall he do those things. And I do
know whō I haue chosen. **W**hō hath he chosen? None
but those, that shalbe blessed in doing those things, that he
which is able to make them blessed hath commaunded &
shewed y^e they ought to be done? Is not y^e traitor Iudas
elected then? **W**hat meaneth that then, that Christ sai-
eth in another place? Haue not I chosen you. xij. and one
of you is a Diuell: **W**as he also elected to some thing,
wherebnto euen he was necessarie? **T**ruilie, he was not
elected to the blessednesse, whereof Christ spake before,
when he sayd: ye shall be happie if ye doe those things.
He speaketh not this of all: for he knoweth whome he
hath chosen to the fellowship of this blessednesse. This
fellow, which did so eate Christes bread, that he did lyst
vp his heele against him, is none of that fellowship. &c.

Againe, the same Sainct Austen in the.62. treatise August. in
vpon Iohn sayth thus. *Nisi ergo se traderet Christus, nemo tras* Iohn. tract. 62.
de-

An Apologie of Crowley

deit Christum. Quid habet Iudas nisi peccatum? Neque enim in
videndo Christo salutem nostram cogitavit, propter quam tradi-
tus est Christus: sed cogitavit pecunie lucrum, et invenit animam
detrimentum. Accepit mercedem quam voluit: sed nolenti est
data quam noluit. Tradidit Iudas Christum: tradidit Christus
seipsum. Ille agebat negotium sue venditionis: iste nostra redemp-
tionis. Quod facis facito citius, non quia tu potes, sed quia hoc vult
qui omnia potest. That is say. Except therefore Christ
would deliver by himselfe: no man could betray him.
What was there in Judas more than sinne? For in be-
traying Christ he minded not to work our salvation, for
which Christ was betrayed: but his minde was upon
the gaine of monie, and he founde the losse of his owne
soule. He receyved the reward that he desired: but that
reward which he was not willing to have, was given
unto him being unwilling to have it. Judas did betraye
Christ: and Christ did deliver by himselfe. The one ap-
plied his marchandise, the other, our redemption. That
thou doest, doe quickly (sayd Christ) not because thou art
able to do it: but because he that is able to do all things,
is willing it should be so.

August. in
Iohn. tract. 107

Againe, in the hundredth and. vij. treatise upon Iohn,
he sayth thus: Quos dedisti mihi custodiri, et nemo ex hijs pe-
ravit, nisi filius perditionis, ut Scriptura impleatur. Filius perditio-
nis dictus est proditor Christi, perditioni predestinatus, secun-
dum Scripturam, quæ de illa in Psalmo Centesimo octavo maxime
prophetatur. That is to say: I have kept those that thou
hast given unto me, and none of them is perished, save
only the childe of perdition, that the Scripture might be
fulfilled. He that betrayed Christ is called the childe of
perdition, because he was predestinated to destructio, ac-
cording to the Scripture, which in the Psalme. 108. chief-
lye is propheticd of him.

Againe in his questions upon Exodus, and the. 18.
question

question. S. Austen sayth thus. *Affidue Deus dicit, Indu-*
ambo cor Pharaonis: & velut causam infert, cur hoc faciat, & im-
plebo signa mea, & portent a mea in Aegypto: tanquàm necessaria
suerit obduratio Pharaonis, ut signa Dei multiplicarentur vel im-
plerentur in Aegypto. Vritur ergo Deus bene cordibus malis, ad id
quod vult ostendere bonis, vel quod facturum est bonis. That is
 to say: God doth oftentimes say, I wil harden Pharaos
 heart: and he doth as it were bring in a cause why he
 would doe it, saying: And I will fulfill my signes and
 wonders in Egypt: as though the hardening of Pha-
 rao should be necessarie to the multiplying and fulfilling
 of Gods wonders in Egypt. God therfore, doth vse well
 those hearts that be euill, for the fulfilling of that thing
 that he is willing to shewe to them that are good, or of
 that which he mindeth to do for them.

August. lib. 2
Quest. sup. Ex.
Questio 2. 18.

If Cerberus had had eyes to see: he might as well
 haue seen these places of Austen, as that one place which
 he thinketh so sufficient for the declaration of the whole
 matter. And there is not one of these places, that is not of
 equall authoritie with that one place of his *peca*, and the
 first of these places is of greater authoritie, as may ap-
 peare to them that will reade the booke of S. Austens
 Retractions.

In these places S. Austen saith, that Christ chose to be
 his disciples, such men as were boyn of poore parentage,
 not called to honour, and vnlearned: that he might be
 and do in them, whatsoeuer they should be, or do. The
 actions therfore, that were done by them, were his acti-
 ons, and were in him exceeding good, although the same
 were in some of the exceeding euill. This thing is made
 more plaine in the other places cited oute of S. Austen.
 First he sayth: Christ knew him that should betraye
 him, and he chose him so much the rather, as one neces-
 sary for his businesse. And againe he sayth, speaking of

I. J.

Judas,

An Apologie of Crowley

Judas, was not he also elected to some thing whereunto he was necessarie : And againe. Except Christ would haue deliuered by himselfe : no man could haue betrayed him. What was there in Judas but sinne : As who should say, the acte was Christes, but the sinne in the acte was Judasses. Yea, he saith furder: That which thou doest, do quickly. Not bicause thou art able to do it: but bicause he that is able to do all things will haue it so done. And last of all he sayth of Judas, that he was called the child of perdition, bicause he was predestinated to destruction.

I suppose if Cerberus had siene and well weyghed these places of Austen : he would not haue triumphed so greatly in that one place of his. Neyther would he haue derided the iudgement of those that ascribing the acte vnto God, do iustly ascribe the sinne of the same acte vnto sinfull man, from whose free choyse consenting vnto euill, the sinne of the acte doth spring, and not from God from whom nothing can come that is not exceeding good (as it commeth from him.) But let vs now see how this hell hound playeth with his owne tayle.

Cerberus.

But to returne againe vnto those, that contrarie to the Scripture, and all auncient writers : doe teach, that God doeth not onely foresee, but also predestinate both good and euill, as well the murder of Caine, as the holinesse of Abell : and thereby make God plainly the Authour of sinne. Whē they perceyue the outrageous blasphemie, to be ouermuch apparant and manifest : then doe they sometimes closely rolle it vp in a riddle agayne. Which yet for the darke speach thereof, may serue at the least,

least, to blind the eyes of some. As where (among many other wayes) they plainly make God the Author of sinne is, saying that God is not only the principal cause, but also the Authour of all things without exception, both on the one side and on the other. If they be then vrged with the consequence, that God is the Authour of sinne: they will aunswere, that in all abomination, God is the Authour of the fact, but not of the crime, as of the fact, deede or worke of adulterie, Sodometrie, murder and Idolatrie, God is the Author say they, but not of the fault or crime. This *Enigma* haue I heard some men vse, and it is also written in a booke, entitled, a brieve treatise of election and reprobation, lately set forth and printed in the English tong, where he saith thus. Though we be compelled to say, that God is the Authour of the fact: yet we must answere, but not of the crime.

Areade, areade, what is that? God is the Author of the very fact & deede of adulterie, theft, murder, and treason: and yet he is not the Authour of sinne. And why? The subtiltie of the Riddle is this. That sinne is nothing. The theefe is not hanged for the deede that he hath committed (for God is the Author therof) but he is hanged for the sinne, and that is for nothing. For whē they say, God is the Author of all things, then nothing is excepted. But sin is nothing, & therefore he is not the Author of sinne. The theefe is hanged for nothing. The murderer is put to death for nothing. The traitor loseth his head for nothing. The wicked are punished in euerlasting fire for nothing. A maruellous sophistication. A straūge Paradox, & cautelous riddle. But to be short, though many ways, this subtiltie might be answered: I wil take onely the definition of sinne, as I finde it written in

An Apologie of Crowley

the same booke, where he sayth verie truly.

The nature of sinne, is defined by the authoritie of Scripture, to be a thought, word or deede, contrary to the wyll of God.

Now, bicause they say, that God is the Author of all euil deedes, though not of the crimes: let vs passe ouer the euill thought, and euill words, and speake onely of the deede it selfe, whych he hymselfe defineth to be sinne, and contrary to Gods wyll. If God then be Authour of the fact or deede, which deede is sinne, and cōtrarie to Gods wyll: how can he then say, that God is the Authour of the fact, but not of the fault, seying he hymself setteth forth, not only a thought or a word, but also a deede to be sinne? And if God be the Authour of that same deede, whych deede is sinne: is it not a thing most plain, that God is the Authour of sinne?

Crowley.

Marke gentle Reader, I pray thee, how this Puppie playeth with his owne tayle. He imagineth that all, eue as many as do hold, that God doth not only foresee, but also predestinate al things both good and euill: do therein holde that God is the Authour of all sinne and abhominable wickednesse. The contrarie whereof is in the former part of this Apologie, sufficiently proued. But he hath heard, he sayth, yea and sene in an English booke, an *Enigma*, a maruellous sophistication, a straunge Paradox, and a cautelous Riddle, which is this. Though we be compelled to saye, that God is the Authour of the fact: yet we must aunswere, but not of the crime.

Areade, areade, what is that? sayth Cerberus. The Curre can not smell how the acte may be Gods, and the sinne

time that is in the acte : his that is the instrument in the working of the acte.

But the subtiltie of this Riddle, saith he, is this. That Anne is nothing . And then the theefe is hanged for nothing, the murderer is put to death for nothing, the traytour loseth his head for nothing, and the wicked are punished in euerlasting fire for nothing . But this is some thing . That Cerberus sayth that there is some thing wherof God is not the Authour. And so it followeth vpon his wordes , that eyther there is another being besides God , whereof those things that God is not the Authour of , haue their being : or else that those things haue theyr being of themselves , and are therein equall with God , whose greatest honour is , in that he is and hath his being of himselfe. But Cerberus must be bozne withall, whatsoeuer he sayth. For if he be contraried : all hell shall ring of his bauling. We may not conclude by his wordes as he doth vpon ours . But for this once I will be bolde to say , that if God be not the principall cause and Authour of al things wythout exception : then there be some things, wherof God is not the principall cause and Authour . And so must it needes follow , whether Cerberus will or no , that the words in the beginning of S. Johns Gospell are not true . *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, & sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est.* By him were all things made, and nothing that was made, was made without him . But we knowe this saying to be true . Wherefore we are bolde to conclude , contrarie to the iudgement of Cerberus : that God is not onely the principall cause, but also the Authour and maker of all things. And bicause Cerberus sayth that we holde a Paradox contrarie to al the auncient wyters : let him read that which S. Austen writeth in the. 26. Chapter of his first booke of Retractations. His wordes be these.

Iohannis. 1.

August. lib.

Retrac. cap. 26

P. 14.

Deus

An Apologie of Crowley

Sapient. 1.
Eccles. 11.

Deus Auctor mali non sit? ubi videndum est, ne male intelligatur quod dixi. Mali Auctor non est, quia omnium quae sunt, Auctor est, quia in quantum sunt, in tantum bona sunt. Et ne hinc putetur, non ab illo esse poenam malorum, quae utique malum est us qui puniuntur. Sed hoc ita dixi, quemadmodum dictum est. Deus mortem non fecit. Cum alibi scriptum sit. Mors & vita à Domino Deo est. Malorum ergo poena quae à Deo est, mala est quidem malis, sed in bonis Dei operibus est, quoniam iustum est ut mali puniantur, & utique bonum est, omne quod iustum est. That is to say: Whether God be not the Authour of the thing that is euill: where men must take hēde, that they do not miscōster that which I haue sayd, that is: That God is not the Authour of that which is euill, for he is Authour of all those things that haue any being, for in asmuch as they be, they be good. Also men must take hēde, that hereby they take not occasion to thinke, that the punishment of the wicked cometh not of God: which punishment, is also euill vnto them that be punished. But I spake this, euen as it is sayd, that God made not death. Whereas in another place it is witten. Death and life are of the Lord God. The punishment therefore of the wicked, which cometh of God, is euill vnto them that be euil. But yet it is among the good workes of God. For it is right that the wicked be punished, and euery thing that is right, is god.

I suppose that when Cerberus hath reade and well weighed these wordes of S. Austen: he will not say that we hold a Paradox, vnlesse he minde to match S. Austen with vs. Which if he shall do, he shall shake his owne building verie sore. For it standeth well most altogether vpon S. Austens ground, although without Sainct Austens consent.

But Cerberus will looke, that some thing should be sayd to the aunswere that he maketh to our subtile sophistication

Heath. For he seemeth to himselfe to haue sayd so much that will we nill we, it must be confessed that God being the Authour of the thing that is euill, he is also the Authour of the cuill and sinne that is in the thing.

Cerberus saw many wayes, whereby the subtiltie of our Riddle myght be answered: but he would vse only the definition of sinne, whiche he found witten in the same English booke that our *Enigma* is witten in. Oh what a valiant champion is this, he will vse none of his owne weapons: he wil be able to wound vs, yea utterly to beate vs downe and conquer vs with our owne weapons. Merie trulie hath that English writer sayd (sayth Cerberus) that the nature of sinne, is defined by 3 authoritie of Scripture, to be a thought, word or dede contrarie to the will of God. And bicause he will not seeme to take too much bauntage: he passeth ouer the thoughts & words, and taketh only the dedes done against the will of God. And with them he wil beate vs down flat to the ground.

The reason that he vseth, is this. If God be the Authour of that dede that is sinne and contrarie to the will of God, how can he say that God is the Authour of the fact and not of the fault: Here is a substantiall answer. Bicause Cerberus can not tel how it should be so: therefore it is not so, neyther may any man say it is so. And yet I haue proued it to be so, both by the example of Sinacharibs death and other. As Cerberus may see, if he will, in the former part of this Apologie.

Cerberus.

And all thys their trauell is to proue, that the ordinance and predestination of God, doth so carrie men euen headlong, vnto all actions, though they be

An Apologie of Crowley

be neuer so mischieuous: that of necessity they must needes and can not choose but commit the same. As though Gods predestination were like a tempest of winde, so blowing in the sayles of a mans heart, that by it he is caried headlong to all things, whatsoeuer he doth, according to the saying of the Poet, *iam magis atq; magis, praeceps agit omnia Fatum*. Nowe, more and more destinie hurleth al things headlong. But surely, this Stoicall necessitie, maketh such a confusion of all things: that let them colour vp the matter, with as much cunning as they can, and qualifie it with as fayre wordes as may be: yet shall there neuer the state of a common wealth in England stand, if thys persuation may once take roote amōg the people, beside that it is vtterly repugnant to the holie Scripture, and against all the auncient wryters, as shalbe hereafter briefly proued.

Crowley.

Nowe Cerberus is bolde to affirme, that all that we do, is nothing else but to proue, that Gods ordinance and predestination doth carrie headlong all men into all actions, be they neuer so mischieuous, as a tempest carrieth all afoze it. &c. Surely Cerberus is too bolde herein: and doeth much mistake the purpose of our trauaile. If he would, he might see (except y^e smoke of Hell haue marred his sight) that our purpose is, to proue that God in wisdom doth knowe, foresee and order all things. And that nothing can be done by any creature otherwise than as by his instruments, which he doeth vse in wisdom, mercie, and iustice, and that so all actions are his, as the chiefe worker in all things. And that the same actions, as they are wrought by him, are exceeding good; although
in

in the creatures that God bleth for his instruments, some of them be exceeding euill. But Cerberus sayth, we doe maintaine Stoicall *Fatum* or destinie. And that if thys persuation may once take place in the people: there shall neuer state of a Commonwelth stand in England. Besides that, it is contrarie to the holie Scripture, and against all the auncient writers, as he will briefly proue. Well good Reader. Marke I praye thee, how Cerberus shall proue that he promisseth to proue: and how he shall be answered againe. And then doubt not but thou shalt see how well that blind Curre standeth in his owne conceyte, and thinketh himselfe to haue a cleare sight.

Cerberus.

And where they denie this doctrine of theirs to be the Stoicall opiniō, bicause the Stoikes (say they) fayned, that nature, wyth such order of cause as she hath tyed together, doth bring all things to passe by necessitie. But they affirme, that God by his eternall predestination, foreordinance, and prouidence, bringeth all things to passe by like necessitie. Thus doe the best learned of them make the difference. But a playne dilusion it is, to blinde the eyes of men withall. For (as *Priscianus* sayth) *Fatum*, (which we call destinie) is deriued of the particple *Fatus*, whych is as much to say, as spoken. Bicause it is nothing else (saith he) but that which is spokē or appointed of God. As if a mā should say, it must nedes be so, for God hath spoken the worde. *Eusebius* also citing the definitiō of *Chrysippus*, sayth, that *Fatum* is nothing else but a certain decree, ordināce or determination of God. Which thyng (to make no more rehearfall of many mens sayings) Augustine plainly

Q.1.

decla-

An Apologie of Crowley

declared in his booke, *De Cinitate Dei. Lib. 5. Cap. 1.* Thus sayth he is it proued, that they dyd call the will of the high God, *Fatum*. Gods wyll sayeth Austen, they called *Fatum*, or destinie. It is manifest therefore that the Stoikes did not imagine, that nature by an order of causes brought all things to passe by necessitie. But rather that God, foreordeining and appointing in order all causes in nature or otherwyle: brought all thynge to passe by necessitie. Whych thyng together wyth the order of causes, *Tullie* speaketh of plainly, saying: *Fati necessitas. &c.* The necessitie of destinie (sayth *Tullie*) is that, which of God is ordeyned and appointed that it come to passe by an euerallasting order of causes.

Crowley.

The Stoikes & we (as Cerberus sayth) do differ only in this. That they affirme al things to come to passe by necessity of destinie: & we, by necessity of Gods eternal predestination, foreordinance, & prouidence. And this is the difference that the best learned amongst vs do make. Who these best learned be, Cerberus doeth not tell vs. But this I am sure, that none amongst vs that is learned, wyll say that there is none other difference betwene the Stoicall opinion and ours, than that which Cerberus hath set downe. For the Stoikes helde, that the willes of men are not vnder the necessitie of their *Fatum* or destinie, because they could not see how it should so be, and yet be free also, as it may well appeare by that that *S. Austē* writeth in the .x. Chapter of his fift booke. *De Cinitate Dei.* where his words are these. *Vnde, nec illa necessitas formidanda est, quam formidando Stoici laborauerunt: causas rerum ita distinguere, ut quasdam subtraherent necessitati quasdam subderent:*

*August. De
Cinit. Dei. lib.
5. Cap. 10.*

vent: atq; in his quas esse sub necessitate noluerunt, posuerunt etiā nostras voluntates, ne videlicet non essent libera, si subderentur necessitati. &c. What is to say. Wherefore, that necessitie is not to be feared, the feare whereof caused the Stoikes so to deuide the causes of things, that they pulled away some things from necessitie, and thrust some things vnder it: and amongst those things that they would not suffer to be vnder necessitie, they haue placed our willes, lest they should not be free, if they should be subiect to necessity. &c. But we hold, that al things, our willes & altogether, are subiect to Gods prouidence: Ergo, there is more difference betwene the Stoikes and vs, than Cerberus sayth that there is. And it is no dilution at all that we vse in y^e we refuse to cal it *Fatum* or destinie: although we know that Priscian⁹ & Tullie, Eusebius, Chrisippus & other, do in their sorts speake of *Fatum*, after such sort, that to the negligent Reader there may seeme smal difference betwene them and vs, in the matter of Gods eternal and euerlasting prouidence and predestination. For we follow herein S. Austen, whose sentence Cerberus would faine frame against vs. But I pray the gentle Reader, marke well the wordes of S. Austen, euen in the same booke, out of which Cerberus citeth matter against vs. Hea and in the selfe same Chapter, which is the first of the fift booke: where the wordes that he fathereth vpon S. Austen, are not found. But these wordes are found there. *Prorsus diuina prouidentia, regna constituuntur humana. Quae si propterea quisquam fato tribuit, quia ipsam Dei voluntatem vel potestatem fati nomine appellat, sententiam teneat, linguā corrigat. Cur enim non hoc primum dicit, quod postea dicturus est, cum ab illo quisquā quæsierit, quid dixerit Fatum? Nam id homines quando audiunt, usitata loquendi consuetudine, non intelligunt nisi vim positionis syderum, qualis est quando quis nascitur, sine concipitur: quod aliqui alienant à Dei voluntate, ali-*

An Apologie of Crowley

qui ex illa etiam hoc pendere confirmant. That is to saye. The Kingdomes of this worlde, are altogether ordeyned by the prouidence of God. Which if any man haue giuen vnto destinie, bicause he doeth call the will or polwer of God it selfe, by the name of destinie: let the same continue in his opinion, but let him refozme his tong. For why doth he not at the first say that, which afterward he will say, when any man shal aske him what he doth call destinie? For when men do heare that thing: they do not by the common maner of speech vnderstande any other thing, than the force of the position of the starres, as the same is when any is bozne or conceived: which some men do seperate from the will of God, and some do proue that the one doth hang vpon the other.

In these wordes S. Austen doth plainly affirme, that euen Kingdomes of this world are appointed by Gods prouidence: and yet he denieth that the same should be said to be appointed by destinie. Wherefore in affirming the one, and denying the other, we doe but as S. Austen doeth.

How aptly Tullie is cited for the purpose of Cerberus: shal plainly appeare in mine answer to that which here followeth.

Cerberus.

The same order of causes also, is not forgotten of our mé, that in al points their doctrine might agree wyth the Stoicall doctrine. As in an English booke, translated out of French, lately set forth in print, & entituled, a brieve declaration of the table of predestination, where he sayth. Seyng God hath appointed the end: it is necessarie also, that he should appoint the causes which leade vnto the same ende. As
if

if he should saye. Like as God hath appointed some man to be hanged: so hath he appointed him also to steale, as a cause leading vnto the same end whervnto he hath appointed him. Or else, it was his destinie to be hanged: *Ergo*, it was his destinie to steale. Or thus (which is all one) he was appointed by Gods predestination to be hanged: *Ergo*, he was appointed by Gods predestinatiō to steale. For seyng God hath appoynted the ende (sayth he) it is necessarie also, that he should appoint the causes that leade vnto the same ende. As for ensāple. If thys be true, which they say, that God doth predestinate all things, or that God doth both appoint the end of all things, and also the causes which leade vnto the same end: then doth it follow & may truly be sayd, that Marten Swarth wyth hys men, was appointed and predestinate of God to be slaine at the battel of Stoke. And furder, it foloweth, as God appoynted Martē & his fellowes to this end: so was sir Richard Symō the Priest, appointed & predestinate of God, to poure in the pestilent poyson of priuie conspiracie, & traiterous mischiefe of vayne glorie into the heart of Lābert his scholer, as a cause leading to the same ende. Item that the sayd Lambert, was appointed & predestinate of God, to consent and agree vnto the pestiferous perswasion of his master Sir Richard, in the pride of Lucifer, to aspire vnto the high type of honor, in deposing (if it possible were) the ryght and most noble heire of England, and eleuating hymself lyke a trayterous villaine, into the royall throne of the same, and that thus he was appointed of God to doe, as another cause leading vnto the same ende which God ordeyned. Item, that the Irysh men were appointed of God to be Rebellious traytours

Q.iiij.

against

An Apologie of Crowley

against their Soueraigne Lord the King of England, and to maintayne the false and filthy quarrell of the said Lambert, as another cause leading to the same end. Item that the Ladie Margret sister vnto King Edward the fourth, was appoynted and predestinated of God, to be a traytoure to Englande, and to employ all hir wyt, force and power, to the vtter destruction of hir naturall countrie, as another cause leading vnto the same end. Item that the sayd Ladie Margret was appoynted of God to conduct and hire Marten Swarth and hys men, to inuade the Realme of England, as another cause leading to the same end. Item that the sayd Marten Swarth, the Earle of Lincolne, the Lord Louell, the Lorde Gerarde, and diuers other Captaines of the Rebels, were appointed or predestinated of God, to be of such valiant courage, in maintayning the false quarrell of trayterous Lambert, that they were slaine: on the other side, many a true English mans blood, at the battell of Stoke, which was the ende of this wofull Tragedie, and by this, theyr manifest forme of doctrine, was altogether and euery part, appointed and ordeined of God, both the end and also the causes aboue rehearsed, and other innumerable, whych did leade vnto the same ende.

Crowley.

Here are many words and little matter. Great Items and small summes. A great deale of descant and no good plaine song. Seeing God hath predestinated the ende: it is necessarie also that he should appoint the causes which leade vnto the same end, sayth an English booke entitled a declaration of the table of Predestination. And what hath

hath Cerberus said here, to disproue this consequence : So far as I am able to iudge : we may graunt him all that he hath said : and yet affirme still, that if God haue appointed the ende : he hath also appointed the causes that leade to the same end. But I will vnderstand Cerberus, as I suppose he meaneth : that is, that God doth neither appoint the end, nor causes that leade thereunto. If this be not his meaning : then hath he ment nothing, but to make simple men suppose that he is able to saye much. And see, gentle Reader, how well he agreeth wth S. Austen, whose authoritie he woulde faine vse, both in steade of a sword and buckler. In the eyght chapter of his fift booke. *De Ciuitate Dei*. S. Austen sayth thus. *Qui verò non astrorum constitutionem, sicut est cum quidq; concipitur, vel nascitur, vel incoatur, sed omnium connexionem seriemq; causarum, qua fit, omne quod fit, Fati nomine appellant : non multum cum eis de verbi controuersia laborandum atq; certandum est : quandoquidem ipsum causarum ordinem, & quandam connexionem, Dei summi tribuunt voluntati & potestati. Qui optimè & veracissimè creditur, & cuncta scire antequam fiant, & nihil inordinatum relinquere : à quo sunt omnes potestates, quamuis ab illo non sint omnium voluntates.* What is to say. As for those men, which do call by the name of destinie, not the constitutio or order of the celestiall signes, as y^e same is at the conception, birth, or beginning of any thing, but the knitting together & order of all causes, whereby euerie thing that is done, is brought to passe: we neede not much to labour and contende with them about the controuersie of that word: bicause they do attribute to y^e wil & power of God, that order and certain knitting together of causes, which is verie well and truely thought to knowe all things before they come to passe, and to leaue nothing vnoordered: of whom al powers haue their being, although all mens willes doe not spring of him.

Here

An Apologie of Crowley

Here mayst thou see (gentle Reader) howe Cerberus
 falleth out with him, whose authoritie he woulde seeme
 chiefly to leane to. Austen sayth, that whatsoeuer is done
 cometh to passe by that knitting together and continu-
 all order of causes which the Stoikes call destinie. But
 Cerberus will haue al set at six and seauen, and that no-
 thing should come to passe by any such order. Austen sayth
 that it is verie well and truely thought, that God doeth
 knowe all things befoze they come to passe, and that he
 doth leaue nothing vnoyded. But Cerberus will none
 of that. For then must Marten Swarth & his men, Syr
 Richard Simon Priest, and his scholler Lambert, the Ir-
 rish men, Lady Margret, the Earle of Lincolne, the
 Lorde Louell, with the rest that rebelled in King Ed-
 warde the fourthes time, be appoynted and ordeyned of
 God to doe as they did. But rather than it should be so,
 Cerberus wpll say with Cotta, that there is no God at
 all. For so doth S. Austen conclude vpo Ciceroes dispu-
 tation that he hath agaynst the Stoikes. His wordes be
 these. *Quomodo igitur ordo causarum, qui praescienti certus est*
Deo, id efficit, ut nihil sit in nostra voluntate, cum in ipso causarum
ordine, magnū habeant locum nostrae voluntates? Contendit ergo
Cicero cum eis qui hūc causarum ordinem dicunt esse fatalem, vel
potius ipsam fati nomine appellant, quod nos abhorremus: prae-
pue propter vocabulū, quod non in re vera consuevit intelligi. Quid
vero negat ordinem omnium causarum esse certissimum, & Dei
praescientiae notissimum: plus eum quam Stoici detestamur. Aut
enim deum esse negat, quod quidem inducta alterius persona in li-
bris de Deorum natura, facere molitus est: Aut si esse confitetur
Deum, quē negat praescium futurorum, etiam sic dicit nihil aliud,
quā quod ille dixit insipiens in corde suo, non est Deus. Qui enim
non est praescius omnium futurorum: non est utique Deus. That
 is to say. How doth the order of causes then, which is cer-
 tayne to God that knoweth them befoze, bring to passe,
 that

August. lib. 5
 De Ciui. dei. 9

that there should be nothing in our will: seeing our wills to beare a great sway euen in the order of causes it selfe: Let Cicero therefore strue with them that say that this order of causes is fatall, or rather that do giue it y^e name of destinie, which thing we do abhorre: chiefly for the name, which is not accustomed to be vnderstanded in the thing it selfe. But where as he doth denie that the order of all causes is most certaine and knowen to the p^rescience of God: we do detest him more than the Stoikes did. For either he doth denie that there is a God, which thing in his booke concerning the nature of the Gods, he doth vnder an other mans person endeour to do: or else, if he do confesse that there is a God, whom he denieth to know of things before they come to passe: euen so saying, he doth none other thing than did that foolish mā which said in his heart, there is no God. For he that doth not knowe afore hand all things that are to come, doubtlesse the same is not God. If Cerberus had had so much leysure as to read ouer this ninth Chapter of S. Austens fift booke, out of the which he would faine finde matter against vs: no doubt he would not haue bragged so much of S. Austens authoritie. But by like he trusted some other mens notes gathered out of S. Austen, and neuer saw the booke of S. Austen himselfe. I speake this in his fauor. But see gentle Reader, how well Cicero seructh for the purpose that Cerberus doth alleage him for. And as thou findest him in this point, so trust him in the rest. Cicero doth not only reason against them that say there is a destinie called in Latine *Fatum*: but also against all that say there is a God that hath knowledge of things to come. And so consequently he affirmeth that there is no God at all. Spoyling God of his foreknowledge (as S. Austen sayth) rather than he would suffer man to be spoyled of his free will. But y^e religious minde

R.1.

(sayeth)

August. lib. 5
De Ciu. t. 9.

An Apologie of Crowley

(sayeth S. Austen) doeth chose both, doeth confesse both, and with the faith of godlinesse doth cōfirme both. What is to say, the foreknowledge of God, and the libertie of mans will. So that whatsoeuer man doth, we say and beleue, that he doth it with the consent of his will.

Cerberus.

Alas who seeth not the destruction of England to follow this doctrine? who seeth not the confusion of all common weales, to depend herevpon? What Prince may sit safely in the seat of his kingdome? What subiect may liue quietly possessing hys owne? What man shall be ruled by right of a lawe: if thys opinion may be perfectly placed in the heartes of the people? But to be short: thou seest here by example, the same which *Tullie* calleth *Series causarum*, the continuall order of causes appointed of God. And our men euen in like maner, call it the causes appointed of God, to leade vnto the same end which he hath ordeyned. Whereof followeth the force of cannot chuse, which is called *Fati necessitas*, Fatall necessitie, or the necessitie of Gods ordinance: for as you haue heard, *Fatum* is nothing else but a decree or ordinance of God. Which necessitie is set forth of some men vnder the name of Gods predestination, & now oftentimes the same thing is set forth also by thys word prouidence. Which name of prouidence likewise the Heathen Stoikes vsed for the same purpose, as *Cicero* sayth. *Pronoea anus fatidica Stoicorum, quam Latine licet prouidentia dicere.* Pronoea in Greke, saith he, the olde wyfe of the Stoikes that setteth forth theyr destinie, which in Latine was called *Prouidentia*, the prouidence of God. But let them cal it prouidence, predestination

destination, preordinance, or what they will: this is (no doubt) the very Stoikes opiniō, that God hath so appoynted and preordeyned all thyngs, that of mere necessitie they come to passe. And what soeuer men do, whether it be good or euill: they can not chose but do it. Which necessitie *Seneca* also manifestly declareth in these wordes. *Necessitates omnium rerum quas nulla vis rumpat: fatum existimo.* The necessitie of all thinges, sayth he, which no force or violence can breake: that same I holde to be destinie.

Crowley.

Howe Cerberus can no longer keepe it in. He must needs breake out in an exclamation against the doctrine of prouidence, predestination & preordinance. For (sayth he) it is none other thing than the very opinion of the Stoikes, call it what we will. Who seeth not the destruction of England: &c.

If God doe by his prouidence gouerne all things: If God haue predestinated or preordeyned all things, so that they shall come to passe in such time and order as God by his prouidence, predestination and preordinance hath appoynted that they shall: then must no man be so blinde as not to see, that Englande must be destroyed. Then must all Commonweales come to confusion. Then shall no King sit safely in his kingdome, nor any subiect in his possession. Yea, no man shall be ruled by the right of a law: but if God do leaue the matter to mans discretion, to vse the matter as he shall see cause, and doe but put to his helping hand when he seeth that man goeth about to bring things to good effect, but in any case determine vpon nothing, till the same shall be by mans wysedome deuised and enterprised: then shall England and all other

R. y.

Common.

An Apologie of Crowley

Commonweales flourish still, then shall all Princes
safely sit in their Kinglie seates, then shall all subiectes
quietly enjoy their possessions, and euery man be ruled
by the right of a lawe. Thus much followeth vpon the
pityfull complaynt that Cerberus maketh vpon the doc-
trine of Gods prouidence, his predestination, or preordi-
nance: but I would gladly know, what Cerberus thin-
keth to be the cause, that in King Edward the fourthes
dayes, Marten Swarth, Hy: Richard Simon, and the
rest, made such a styre in England. Was it for that they
were perswaded in this doctrine that Cerberus seemeth
to make the cause of all such doings? Surely I suppose
there was not one of them that did once dreame of any
prouidence of God. For those that take such matters in
hand, are commonly as great enemies to Gods prouidence,
as is Cerberus himselfe. And shall Cerberus wordes
make vs afrayde, to say that God in his prouidence had
predestinated & preordinated all those things to be done:
yea, & that it could not otherwise be, but that those things
must then be done? Surely, I can see no cause why we
should feare so to say: Let Cerberus and his fellowes
conclude what they wil. For I am sure S. Austen in the
x. Chapter of his fift booke *De Ciuitate Dei*: will take our
parte herein. His wordes are these. *Si autem illa definitum
esse necessitas, secundum quam dicimus, necesse esse ut sit aliquid
vel ita fiat: nescio cur eam timeamus, ne nobis libertatem auferat
voluntatis.* What is to say. If we call that thing necessity,
whereby we say of anie thing that it must needs be, or
that it must needs be so done, then do not I see why we
should feare, least that should take from vs the libertie of
our will. When we say therefore that of necessitie Mar-
ten Swarth and the rest, must make such a styre as they
did in King Edward the fourthes dayes: do we take fro
them the libertie of their wil? No sayth S. Austen. For
they

*August. lib. 5
10. Cap. de
Ciuit Dei.*

they did whatsoeuer they did, with the free cōsent of their willes, and felt no constraynt at all. But Cerberus is not so satsfied, he wyl be inquisitiue to knowe what shoulde be the cause why God woulde in his prouidence predestinate these men to doe these things. I wil answer with S. Austen, I can not tell. God both know a cause: but he hath not made Cerberus and me priuie to it. *Oculi a causa esse potest, iniusta non potest. That is. The cause may be secreete: but it can not be vniust.* Is there any iniquitie with God? God forbyd. What Seneca thought of destinie, we passe not. But with S. Austen we saye. *Omnia verò fato fieri non dicimus, imò nulla fieri fato dicimus: quoniam fati nomen ubi solet à loquentibus poni, id est, in constitutione syderum, qua quisq; conceptus aut natus est: quoniam res ipsa inaniter asseritur, nihil valere monstramus. Ordinem autem causarum, ubi voluntas Dei plurimum potest, neq; negamus, neq; fati vocabulo nuncupamus, nisi fortè ut fatum à fando dictum intelligamus, id est, à loquendo. Non enim abnuere possumus, esse scriptum in litteris sanctis: semel locutus est Deus, duo hæc audiu: quoniam potestas est Dei: & tibi Domine misericordia: quia tu reddes unicuiq; secundum opera eius, Quod enim dictum est, semel locutus est: intelligitur immobiliter, hoc est, incommutabiliter est locutus, sicut nouit incommutabiliter omnia, quæ futura sūt, & quæ ipse facturus est. Hac itaq; ratione possumus à fando fatum appellare, nisi hoc nomē iam in alia re soleret intelligi, quo corda hominū nolumus inclinari.* That is to say. We say not that all things do come to passe by destinie: yea we say that nothing is done by destinie. For we do plainly shew, that the name destinie is of no value, in the place where men be to place it in speaking, that is in the constitution of the heauenlie signes, wherein euerie man is conceived and borne, bicause the thing it selfe is vainely affirmed. As for the order of causes, wherein the will of God is of great force and power: we doe neither denie, nor call it

R. iij.

by

*Epist. 59. ad
Paulinum.*

*Aug. De Ci-
uit. lib. 5. cap. 9*

Psal. 62

An Apologie of Crowley

by the name of destinie, except it be so as we may vnderstand *Fatum* to be deriued of the word *For faxis*, that is of speaking. For we can not denie but it is wyrtten in the holie Scriptures: God spake once, these two sayings, I my selfe hearde it: that powver belongeth vnto God, and vnto thee (*O Lord*) belongeth mercie: for thou wilt giue vnto euerie man according to his workes. And where as it is said, he spake once: we vnderstand that he spake vnmoueably, that is vunchaungeably, euen as he did vunchaungeably know al things that are to come, and that he himselfe will do. After this sort therfore, we may say that *Fatum* or destinie, is deriued *a fando*, or speaking, if this name had not now bene accustomed to be vnderstanded of another matter, wherevnto we are not willing that mens hearts should be enclined.

Now if Cerberus haue ought to say against this, let him make *S. Austen* one of vs. For we are in this point all one with him.

Cerberus.

And as for that which the Heathen did attribute to the starres or planets, they meant none other, but that God ordeined the planets in nature to worke such things, as he before had decreed & appointed: Euen as we also iudge, that God vsueth the operatiō of the planets in sending such rayne & tempest, faire weather or foule, as his pleasure is, let them say therfore what they cā or wil. This meere necessitie which our men do teach, is the verie same which the Stoikes did hold, which opinion bicause it destroyed the state of a common wealth, it was banished out of Rome, as *Augustine* declareth. *Lib. Quest. vet. & no. Test.* Where he notably refelleth that opinion in these few

few words, saying. *Qua ratione nati dicuntur.* &c. By what reason (sayth Auguftine) were they borne which banished *Mathematicos*, the setters forth of destinie out of Rome, which law was kept, and they were but Heathen, howe were those things done by destinie which make agaynst destinie? But surely if there be a destinie, it doth nothing against it selfe, saith Aug. For so were destinie, no destinie, or at the least, destinie fighting agaynst it selfe: Or to speake the same in those wordes, which our men by abuse take out of the Scripture, to maintain the very same matter. If it be Gods predestination that men should write and speake agaynst hys predestination, as they saye some men do, then is Gods predestination a Kingdome, not only deuided, but also fearcely fighting agaynst it selfe. O miserable absurditie which any child may perceyue must needs follow, if all things come to passe with absolute necessitie by Gods predestination as they teach. Thys same doctrine also that all euill springeth out of Gods ordinance, or that Gods predestination was the cause of Adams fall and of all wickednesse, is plainly maintained in an English boke lately set forth and entituled agaynst a priuie Papist. &c. where among many open and plaine sentences vpon this matter, I find an argument made in these words: Whatsoeuer was in Adam was in him by Gods wil & ordinace: sinne was in Adam, *Ergo* sinne. &c. was in him by Gods will & ordinace. The *maior* of which argument being vnderstand of Adam after his fall, is manifestly falle, & therefore the cōclusion also is false, for if it may be sayd of Adam after his fal (as by the *minor* you wel perceyue that he so doth vnderstand it) then may it also be sayd now of any man, that what execrable wickednesse so euer
is

An Apologie of Crowley

by the name of destinie, except it be so as we may vnderstand *Fatum* to be deriued of the word *For sayis*, that is of speaking. For we can not denie but it is wyrtten in the holie Scriptures: God spake once, these two sayings, I my selfe hearde it: that power belongeth vnto God, and vnto thee (O Lord) belongeth mercie: for thou wilt giue vnto euerie man according to his workes. And where as it is said, he spake once: we vnderstand that he spake vnmoueably, that is vnchaungeably, euen as he did vnchaungeably know al things that are to come, and that he himselfe will do. After this sort therfore, we may say that *Fatum* or destinie, is deriued *a fando*, or speaking, if this name had not now bene accustomed to be vnderstanded of another matter, wherevnto we are not willing that mens hearts should be enclined.

Now if Cerberus haue ought to say against this, let him make S. Austen one of vs. For we are in this point all one with him.

Cerberus.

And as for that which the Heathen did attribute to the starres or planets, they meant none other, but that God ordeined the planets in nature to worke such things, as he before had decreed & appointed: Euen as we also iudge, that God vseth the operatiō of the planets in sending such rayne & tempest, faire weather or foule, as his pleasure is, let them say therfore what they cā or wil. This meere necessitie which our men do teach, is the verie same which the Stoikes did hold, which opinion bicause it destroyed the state of a common wealth, it was banished out of Rome, as Augustine declareth. *Lib. Quest. vet. & no. Test.* Where he notably refelleth that opinion in these few

few words, saying. *Qua ratione nati dicuntur.* &c. By what reason (sayth Augustine) were they borne which banished *Mathematicos*, the setters forth of destinie out of Rome, which law was kept, and they were but Heathen, howe were those things done by destinie which make agaynst destinie? But surely if there be a destinie, it doth nothing against it selfe, saith Aug. For so were destinie, no destinie, or at the least, destinie fighting agaynst it selfe: Or to speake the same in those wordes, which our men by abuse take out of the Scripture, to maintain the very same matter. If it be Gods predestination that men should write and speake agaynst hys predestination, as they saye some men do, then is Gods predestination a Kingdome, not only deuided, but also fearcely fighting agaynst it selfe. O miserable absurditie which any child may perceyue must needes follow, if all things come to passe with absolute necessitie by Gods predestination as they teach. Thys same doctrine also that all euill springeth out of Gods ordinance, or that Gods predestination was the cause of Adams fall and of all wickednesse, is plainly maintained in an English boke lately set forth and entituled agaynst a priuie Papist. &c. where among many open and plaine sentences vpon this matter, I find an argument made in these words: Whatsoever was in Adam was in him by Gods wil & ordinace: sinne was in Adam, *Ergo* sinne. &c. was in him by Gods will & ordinace. The *maior* of which argument being vnderstand of Adam after his fall, is manifestly false, & therefore the cōclusion also is false, for if it may be sayd of Adam after his fall (as by the *minor* you wel perceyue that he so doth vnderstand it) then may it also be sayd now of any man, that what execrable wickednesse so euer
is

An Apologie of Crowley

is in any mā, that same is in him by Gods wil & ordinance. He goth about also to proue the same by another argumēt which he maketh speaking of the lying spirit, saying: God cōmaūded him to sinne, but God commaūded nothing which he ordeineth not, so he ordeined him to sinne. Which argument it was maruel that any man could be so blind as not to see how it might with more strength and force, and much more manifest truth be turned against him in this sort: speaking of Adam, yea and of all men saying, God commaūded Adam, and doth commaūde all men to absteine from sinne, but he commaūdeth nothing which he ordeineth not, *Ergo* God ordeined Adam and all men to absteine from sinne. If God then ordeyned Adam and all men to absteine from sinne, than did he not ordeyne Adam or any man to commit sinne, so was not sinne in Adam, or in any man by Gods will and ordinance, nor Gods ordinance the cause of Adams fall, or of any mans sinne. And therefore their opinion is vtterly false: also if God in hys secret counsell do predestinate, appoint, and ordeine man to sinne, and yet gyue vnto him a straight law and commaūdement not to sinne: is not then his secret wyll contrary to his open word? and hys eternal ordinance, repugnant to his written law: All theyr fayre wordes and fine framed fetches can not auoide it.

Crowley.

Let vs say what we can or wyll (sayth Cerberus) the more necessitie that we teach shall be all one wyth that which the Stoikes helde, affirming their *Fatum*, or destinie. To this I haue sufficiētly answered before, shewing plain:

plainly by S. Austen's words, that we teach none other doctrine herein, than did S. Austen in the same booke *De Ciuitate Dei*, out of which Cerberus citeth matter against vs.

But nowe Cerberus hath founde another authoritie of saint Austen agaynst vs, in his booke (as Cerberus sayth) which he wrote, and entituled : *Questiones ex vtroq; Testamento*. In the question. iij. he sayth thus. *Qua autem ratione nati dicuntur, qui Mathematicos vrbe Roma prohibuerunt, quod ius seruatum non ignoratur? Et certe Pagani fuerunt. Quomodo fato sunt que contra fatum sunt? Sed si est fatum, non facit contra se. &c.* That is to say. By what order shall it be sayd that those men were bozne, which did forbydde the Mathematicks (that is to say) y^e tellers of mens fortunes, or destinies to come within the Citie of Rome. And it is wel knownen that that lawe was kept. And doubtlesse these men were Heathen men. Howe are those thinges done by destinie, which are against destinie? But if there be a destinie, it worketh agaynst it selfe. &c. sayth Austen. But stay there Master Cerberus: and proue that Austen was Authour of that booke. So may it be of some authoritie with vs. But Erasmus hath alreadie proued by sundrie good reasons, that S. Austen did neuer write it. As may appeare to as many as wylle reade his iudgement set forth before the beginning of this booke. Where writing of this parte of that booke, out of which Cerberus hath cyted the wordes aboue wyrtten, he sayth : *Disputat contra Mathematicos, quod, altius ingreditur opus, hoc licentius ineptit.* That is to say. He disputeth agaynst the Mathematicks, and the deeper he doth enter into the worke, the more outragiously doth he play the parte of a scole.

But Cerberus wylle not let a Louse by the iudgement of Erasmus. He wylle conclude vpon the wordes of hys Austen, that so destinie shoulde be no destinie, or at the

An Apologie of Crowley

least, destinie fighting against it selfe. Nay, he wyl not stay there, but as though destinie and Gods predestination were all one thing: he wyl conclude, that it is also a kingdome, not onely deuided, but also fiercely fighting against it selfe. And then knitte by the matter with his manner of exclaiming. O miserable absurditie. &c. Cerberus his heart would haue burst, if he might not haue borrowed his fellowes bable to fetch one. flourish wythall. Every childe may see (sayth Cerberus) what absurditie must needs follow. And every wise man may see (say I) that there can no absurditie followe vpon that necessitie that we teach. For it taketh away no freedome that mans will hath, or euer had. Neyther doth Gods predestination fight against it selfe, because Cerberus wyth his fellowes, were predestinated before the worlde was in this time of the worlde, thus to go about to deface those that doe truly teach, that Gods prescience, prouidence, and predestination is infallible. For what wise man wil say, that the Potmaker is contrarie to himselfe, because he maketh of his clay some vessels to serue in honourable vses, and some other to vse cleane contrarie? Or who wil say that God is contrarie to himself, because he hath made, and doeth daylie make some of his creatures to be deuourers and destroyers of the rest: or that nature doth fight against it self: because it doth bring forth both helth: some swete and payson? Surely I thinke there is no man of that minde but Cerberus and his fellowes, and that Austen that Cerberus citeth for his purpose. But how worthy credit that Austen is: is afore sufficiently declared.

But Cerberus hath found in an Englishe Booke entitled against a priuie Papist, two Argumentes: one in these words. Whatsoeuer was in Adam, was in him by Gods wil & ordinance: sin was in Adam: Ergo, sinne. &c. The other speaking of the lying spirite, in these words.

God

God commaunded him to sinne: but God commaundeth nothing which he ordeyneth not: so he ordeyned him to sinne. Cerberus mislyketh much with these two Arguments. The maior proposition in the first Argument is false, sayth Cerberus. Wherefore, the conclusion can not be true. But S. Austen in his *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*: sayth that the maior is true: Ergo it is lyke that Cerberus sayth not truely. Saint Austens wordes be these. *Hac sunt magna opera Domini, exquisita in omnes voluntates eius: & tam sapienter exquisita, ut cum angelica & humana creatura peccasset. i. non quod ille, sed quod voluit ipsa fecisset: etiam per eandem creaturam voluntatem, qua factum est quod Creator noluit, impleret ipse quod voluit, bene utens & malis tanquam summe bonus, ad eorum damnationem, quos iuste predestinavit ad poenam: & ad eorum salutem, quos benigne predestinavit ad gratiam. Quantum enim ad eos attinet, quod Deus noluit fecerunt: quantum vero ad omnipotentiam Dei, nullo modo id efficere valuerunt. Hoc quippe ipso quod contra voluntatem Dei fecerunt: de ipsis facta est voluntas eius. Propterea namque magna opera Domini, exquisita in omnes voluntates eius, ut miro, & ineffabili modo, non fiat preter eius voluntatem, quod etiam sit contra eius voluntatem. Quia non fieret, si non sineret: nec utique nolens sinit, sed volens. Nec sineret bonus male fieri: nisi omnipotens etiam de malis facere posset bene. That is to say. These are y great workes of God, sought out, according to all his wylls: and yet wysely sought out, so that when the nature both of Angels and man had sinned: that is, had done, not the thing that he wyllled, but that it selfe wyllled, even by the same will of the creature, wherby that thing was done, that y Creator was not willing should be done, he fulfilled that which he would haue done, euent as he that is best of all, vsing well, euen those things that are euill, to the condemnation of those whome he hath iustly predestinated to paine: and to the saluation of those whom he hath lo-*

S. ij.

uingly

*Enchirid. ad
Laurent. cap. 100.*

An Apologie of Crowley

uingly predestinated to free mercy. As touching themselves, they did y^e which God was not willing they should do : but as touching the almightie power of God, they were by no meanes able to bring that to passe. For even in the verie same thing that they did contrarie to the wil of God : his will was wrought upon them. For that cause therefore, the workes of the Lord are great, & searched out according to all his willes. So that after a marvellous and vnspeakable maner, that thing that is done even contrarie to his will : should not be done without his will. For if he would not suffer it, it should not be done : neyther doth he suffer it being vnwilling, but willing. Neyer would he that is god, suffer a thing to be euill done : except the same being almightie, were also able to worke a good effect of those things that be euill.

Thou maist see here, gentle Reader, how great cause Cerberus hath to mislike with this Argument. S. Austen sayth, that after a marvellous and vnspeakable maner, that thing that is done contrarie to the will of God, is not without his will. And thou mayst be bolde, rather to consent vnto that which was written against a priuy Papist, hauing Austen also on thy part : than by Cerberus his misliking to be perswaded that that writer hath taught an vntrueth.

Of the other Argument, Cerberus sayth, that it was maruell that any man coulde be so blinde, as not to see how the same might with much more strength and force, and manifest truth be turned against himselfe that made it, in this sort. God commaunded Adam, and doth commaund all men, to abstaine from sinne : But he commaundeth nothing which he ordeineth not : Ergo God ordeyned Adam and all men to absteyne from sinne. But what hath Cerberus wonne by this : I graunt the Argument to be good. But that the conclusion is against vs

I denie: For we affirme that when man abstaineth fro sinne, the same is done by Gods will and ordinance, as when he committeth sinne, the same is also by the wil and ordinance of God: as by the words of Austen afore written doth plainly appeare. As for Cerberus his argumēt, and the conclusion that he inferreth thereupon: I referre to the iudgement of all wise men that will weygh the afore written words of S. Austen. Who shall thereby easily perceyue, that no such conclusion can follow vpon such premisses. But to his, Also if God in his secret counsell. &c. I must say some thing. Else will Cerberus say that Gods secret will and eternall ordinance, is contrary to his open word and written law.

When Jonas was sent to Ninine, the open word & commaundement of God was, that he should say vnto the: Yet fortie dayes and Ninine shalbe destroyed. The effect doth declare, that his eternall purpose was not to destroy them, for they were not destroyed. Neyther was this commaundement contrarie to his eternall purpose: but he did vse it as a meane whereby to bring his eternall purpose to passe, which was to shew mercie in forgiuing the sinnes of the Ninuites.

When Moses was sent to Pharaο, the open word and commaundement was thus. Say vnto Pharaο, let my people go, that they may offer sacrifice vnto me. But his eternall purpose was, that by the stubbornesse of Pharaο in refusing to do his commaudemēt, he might haue iust occasion to shew his power vpon him, in pouring out vpon him and his people, the manifold plagues that we reade of in the holie Histories, and that thereby his name might be made knowen in all partes of the earth. So that this commaundement was not contrarie to the eternal purpose, but did concurre & run together with it, to that ende, that in the eternal purpose was prefired.

S. iij.

When

An Apologie of Crowley

When Iesus Christ began to preach, the open word was, Repent and beleue the Gospell: but the eternall purpose was, that for his doctrine & miracles, he shoulde be hated of his countriemen and kinsemen (for the most part) and by them be deliuered to the Heathen to be crucified, and made a sacrifice for the sinnes of the world. So that this open word was not against the secret purpose of God: but (as S. Paule doth terme it) it was to them that perished, the sauor of death vnto death, and to them that be saued, the sauor of life vnto life. For in the one sort it did worke beliefe, and by beliefe saluation: and in the other it did manifest and make open the vnbeliefe that was in their heartes before, and so make them utterly without excuse. As our Sauour himselte sayth: Now haue they nothing to pretend for excuse.

The Law and the Gospell are both written & preached, and the open word is, do this, and thou shalt haue this: but the eternall purpose of God is, that those that haue eares to heare, should heare and obey, and so enioy the reward promysed: and that they which lacke such eares, should haue the iust condemnation of their owne consciences. These two therefore be not contrarie the one to the other, but doe concurre and runne together to one ende.

Much more might be said to this effect, without either faire words or finely framed fetches: and so the inconueniencce that Cerberus would conclude, clearly auoyded. But I will content my selfe with one saying of Austen, writing vpon the ninth Psalmie. His wordes be these. *Non in toto corde confitetur Deo, qui de providentia eius in aliquo dubitat. Sed qui tam cernit occulta sapientie Dei, quantum sit inuisibile premium eius, qui dicit, gaudemus in tribulationibus, & quemadmodum omnes cruciatus, qui corporaliter inferuntur, aut ut exercent conuersos ad Deum, aut ut conuertantur adinaneant,*

neant, aut iuste damnationi ultima preparent obduratos : & sic omnia ad diuina prouidentie regimen referantur, quæ stulti quæ-
 si casu & temere, & nulla diuina administratione fieri putant,
 ait. Narrabo omnia mirabilia tua. &c. What is to say. That
 man which doth doubt of the prouidence of God in anye
 thing : both not shew himselfe thankful or praise God in
 all his heart. But bicause he doth not see the secretes of
 the wisdom of God, how great the vnnimble reward of
 him is which sayth, we reioyce in troubles : and how all
 afflictions which are brought vpon the body, eyther to
 exerceple those þe conuerted vnto God, or that they may
 admonish them to conuert, or that they may prepare to
 the last damnation, those that be iustly made hard heart-
 ed, and that so all those things might be referred vnto
 the gouernement of Gods prouidence, which foolish men
 do suppose to be wrought by chaunce, at aduenture, and
 by no diuine prouidence : he sayth. I will declare all thy
 wonderous workes. &c. We maye be bolde therefore (I
 thinke) to say, that this which Cerberus hath done, in
 writing this spitefull aunswere to his friendes Letter (if
 any such were) was gouerned by Gods prouidence. And
 yet we are not *Genethliaci*, or declaters of mens fortunes
 or destinies, such as were banished out of Rome : for we
 say not þe it is Cerberus his fortune or destinie to be han-
 ged or drowned, or that he shal die a natural death before
 he shalbe as great a fauourer of Gods predestination, as
 he doth now shew himself to be a mortall foe therof. But
 we knowe, that if God haue predestinated any of these
 things, the same shall vndoubtedly come to passe, in such
 sort as he hath appointed. And yet shal not Cerberus his
 will be enforced. But if he hang himselfe, it shal be with
 the full consent of his will. And if he shalbe a fauourer of
 our side, it shalbe with the free choyse of his owne will,
 gouerned by the prouidence of God. As there be some yet
 liuing,

An Apologie of Crowley

living, that can testifie, that once they were of the same minde that Cerberus is now, and that with consent of will. And now they be of one minde with me; and that with assent of will also.

*Aug. De Ci-
uit. lib. 5. cap. 9*

We leaue Cerberus and his fellows therefore to him that by his prouidence gouerneth al things. And yet do we our selues vse the meanes that God in prouidence hath appointed to be vsed, and we teach all other to do the same, committing the successe to him that knoweth what he hath determined to worke in all his creatures. And we conclude this matter with Austen, saying: *Quapropter, & voluntates nostra tantum valent, quantum Deus eas valere voluit atq; presciuit: & ideo, quicquid valent certissime valent: & quod factura sunt ipsa, omnino factura sunt: quia uoluntas atq; facturas ille presciuit, cuius prescientia falli non potest.* Quapropter, si fati nomen, alicui rei adhibendum placeret: magis dicere fatum esse infirmioris, potentioris voluntatem, qui enim habet in potestate, quam illo casuum ordine, quem non resisto, sed suo more Stoici fatum appellant, arbitrium nostra voluntatis auferri. What is to saye. Wherefore, this is the cause why our willes are able to doe, as much as God would & did know afore hand that they should do, and therefore, loke what they are able to do, that are they most certainly able to do; and what so euer they shall do, they shall indeede do: because he whose prescience or foreknowledge cannot be deceiued, did know afore hand that they should do it. Wherefore if I could alow the name of destinie to be giuen to any thing: I would rather say that destinie were a thing belonging to the weaker, and will to the stronger which hath it in his power, than that the liberty of our will, should by that order of causes, which Stoikes, not after the common custome, but after their owne manner, do call destinie. But Cerberus is not yet answered. We must yet solve him one other question. Which now

now he will propone.

Cerberus.

Yet would I further aske them a question, seeing it is the decree, ordinance, and wyll of God expressed in his word, that man should not sin, how crept they into that secret council, where God ordeined, decreed, and willed the contrarie? that is to say, that man should sinne. But I heare their answer already published in print: standing in the third leafe & seconde page, of the firste Blast in that traiterous trumpet, set forth agaynst the regiment of women, where Fol. 2. Pa. 2. briefly and couertly toucheth this close and priue counsell of God in these wordes. The secreete counsell of God excepted. But in Fol. 3. Pag. 2. he sayth. I am sure that God hath reuealed to some in this our age, that it is more than a Monster in nature, that a woman shall raigne and haue Empire aboue man.

This may be the Apocalips of some men in thys our age: but sure I am, it is not the reuelation of S. Iohn the Euangelist, nor of any other olde Apostle or Prophet. These new reuelations which are reuealed vnto men of our age out of a secreete counsell, decree, and ordinance of God, contrarie to the open worde and commaundement of God, are meete for those which delight in the danable dreames of some doting destinie, and may well be called inspirations of olde Arrians, reuelations of blinde Anabaptistes, or vnwritten verities of superstitious Papists, rather than the secreete counsell of God, reuealed vnto men of our age. But to conclude: That Angell or spirite, which contrarie to the manifest word of God, hath

T. j.

reuealed

An Apologie of Crowley

reuealed vnto men of our age, that a woman being right inheritour to the Crowne of a Realme, ought not to be ruler thereof, that same spirit and Aungell of darknesse, hath reuealed vnto me of our age, that Caine was predestinate to murther his brother Abel, and the most wicked traytours, murtherers, & theeues that lyue, are ordeyned of God, in his secrete counsell, contrary to his open worde, to be wicked, euen as they are, and to commit such murther, theft and treason, euen as they doe. The same conclusion and newe reuelation, is also playnly set forth in the other late printed English boke before named, translated out of French into English, where anon after the beginning, speaking of Gods wyll, he sayth: By the vertue wherof, al things are made, yea eue those thyngs whych are euill and execrable. Yet when he hath plainly affirmed that by the vertue of Gods wil euill and execrable things are made, least the horrible face of Sathan should be perceiued, in the burning flame of those terrible wordes: The matter is afterward trimly couered with a cloke of vnflauerie subtiltie, for he declareth his mind to be, that those euil and execrable things, which are wrought by the vertue of Gods will, are not euill and execrable, in that they are wrought by his diuine counsell. As if he should say, though they be in deede euil and execrable things, which the counsell of God worketh, yet are they not in that respect or therefore euill, because God worketh the. But for as much (sayeth he) as they proceede from the Prince of ayre. &c. Or to speak it in more viual termes, because the diuel or wicked men do work it, which neuerthelesse, as they plainly hold and affirme, are the instrumētes of God appointed herunto, & in doing the same, do nothing else

else but that which God hath ordeyned them to do, & so ordeyned that they can not chose but do it, euē as they do, which opinion *Prosper*, defending the sentence of Augustine, writeth vehemently against, in these wordes. *Prædestinationem Dei siue ad malum siue ad bonum &c.* That the Predestination of God (sayth he) doth worke in all men eyther vnto good or vnto euill it is most foolishly sayd, as though a certaine necessitie should driue men vnto both, seying in good things, the will is to be vnderstande not wythout grace, & in euill things, the will is to be vnderstand without grace. *Respo. ad obiect. Gal. cap. 6.* But that which *Prosper*, and Aug. do here most truly call a most folish saying. The same do these men call the most hygh & profound wisdom, for God say they, predestinateth al things, *Ergo* al things must come to passe of necessitie.

Crowley.

A man might maruell, what moued Cerberus to moue that question, the aunswere wherunto, he himself sayth is alredie published in print. But when I consider, what spirit it is that hath moued him in this sort to aunswere his friendes letter: I leane off that maruell. For I see his purpose is, by this meane to entangle and trouble vs with by matter, neyther pertinent to the thing we haue in hande, nor tending to any good ende. What haue we to do with the matter of the Blasse (which booke I neuer reade of) or with Revelations or Apocalipses: We haue the question of Gods Providence, Prescience & Predestination in hande. To dispute of those matters did neyther appertaine to Cerberus in hys aunswere, neyther doth it appertaine to me in this Apologie. I wyl therefore passe ouer both those questions; and shape him

A.ij.

an

An Apologie of Crowley

another maner of answer to his demaund than y^e which he imagineth that he hath scene set forth in print. His question is, how we crept into y^e secrete counsell, where God ordeyned, decreed and willed, that mā should sinne? He imagineth that this can not be answered other wise than by an Apocalips or Reuelatio. But Cerberus shall well vnderstande, that we can answer him by playne Scripture, & proue that it is not against Scripture, that God shoulde ordaine, decree and will, that man shoulde sinne.

Rom. 9.

First, S. Paule writing to the Romanes sayth thus. *An nō habet potestatem Figulus luti, ex eadē massa facere, aliud quidem vas in honorem, aliud vero in contumeliam?* That is to saye. Hath not the Potmaker power ouer his Claye, out of one lump to make one vessell to hono^r, and another to dishono^r? And in the same place he sayth thus. *Nunquid dicit figmentum ei qui se finxit, quid me fecisti sic?* That is. Doth the earthen vessell say vnto him that made it:

2. Timoth. 2.

Why haste thou made me so? And the same S. Paule writing to Timothe sayth. *In magna autem domo, non solum sunt vasa aurea & argentea, sed & lignea & fictilia: & quedā quidem in honorem, quedam autem in contumeliam.* That is to say. In a great house, there be not onely vessells of Golde & of Siluer, but also of Timber and of Earth: some seruing to hono^r, and some to dishono^r. These Alegories doth S. Paule vse, to shew that there is no iniquitie with God, though he do appoint his creatures at his good will and pleasure, some to hono^r, and some to dishono^r. To the same purpose doth S. Paule cite the wordes that are written in the 33. of Exodus. *Miserebor, cuius miserebor: & misericordiam prestabo, cuius miserebor.* That is. I will haue compassion vpon him, on whome I haue compassion: And I will shewe mercy, to whome I will shewe mercy. It lyeth not in the willer no^r in y^e runner, saith S. Paul: but

but in God who taketh mercy. For the Scripture sayth vnto Pharao: *Quia in hoc ipsum exitaui te, vt ostendam in te potentiam meam, & vt annuntietur nomen meum in vniuersa terra.* That is. For this cause haue I styred thee vp, that I might shewe my power vpon thee, and that my name might be declared throughe the whole earth. And then S. Paule concludeth thus. *Ergo, cuius vult miseretur, & quem vult indurat.* That is. On whome it pleaseeth him, he taketh mercy, & whome he lusteth, he maketh harde hearted. I knowe the common aunswere to this. Which is: God doth not harden the hearts of any: but he doth suffer them to harden their owne hearts'. But it were good for them that stande vpon this common aunswere, to consider what S. Austen writeth concerning Gods suffering of things to be done.

Nec dubitandum est Deum facere bene, etiam sinendo fieri quaecumq; fiunt male. Non enim hoc nisi iusto iudicio finit. Et profecto bonum est omne quod iustum est. Quamuis ergo ea quae mala sunt, in quantum mala sunt, non sint bona: tamen, vt non solum bona, sed etiam sint & mala, bonum est. Nam nisi esset hoc bonum, vt essent & mala: nullo modo esse sinerentur ab omnipotente bono. Cui proculdubio, quam facile est quod vult facere? tam facile est, quod non vult esse, non sinere. Hoc nisi credamus, periclitatur ipsum nostrae fidei confessionis initium, quia nos in Deum patrem omnipotentem, credere confitemur. Neque enim veraciter ob aliud vocatur omnipotens, nisi quia quicquid vult potest, nec voluntate cuiuspiam creature, voluntatis omnipotentis, impeditur effectus. That is to saye. It is not to be doubted that God doth well, yea, when he suffereth to be done, whatsoeuer things are euill done. For he doth not suffer this, other wise than by iust iudgement. And surely, all that is iust, is good. Although therfore those things that be euill, in as much as they be euill, be not good: yet is it good, y there should be things, not onely that are good, but also that are euill. For ex-

E. ij.

cept

Enchirid. ad
Laur. cap. 96.

An Apologie of Crowley

rept it were good, y there should be things that are euill : the almightie goodnesse would by no meanes suffer them to be . To whome, no doubt, it is as easie a thing not to suffer that thing to be which he would not should be : as it is to doe that which he is willing to doe . Except wee beleue this : the very beginning of the confession of our sayth, wherein we confesse y we beleue in God y Father Almighty, is in daunger & like to be found vntrue. For he is not truely called Almighty for any other cause, but for that he is able to do what he will, & the effect of his wyll, being Almighty, is not by the wil of any creature letted.

By these wordes of Austen it is playne, that God, being Almighty can not be sayd to suffer ought to be done, which he is not willing should be done. The hardening of hearts therfore, and that wickednesse that is wrought by the hard hearted, is not done without his wil. And although those things be euill, in asmuch as they are done by those euill persons, yet in as much as the same are done by the will of God, it is good that they be done. By thys it is plaine, that when God doth ordeyne, decree, and will that man shoulde sinne : he doth not contrarie to Scripture, which doth witnesse, by the testimonie of S. Austen, that it is good that man should do euil, in such sense as S. Austen hath declared the same.

Prouer. 16.

Moreouer, Salomon in his Proverbes sayth thus. *Vniuersa propter semetipsum operatus est Dominus : impiū quoq; ad diem malum.* That is: The Lord hath made all things for himselfe: & the vngodlie man also against the euyl day.

Esay. 10.

Esay the Prophet sayth. *Nunquid gloriabitur Securis contra eum qui secat in ea ? Aut exaltabitur Serra contra eum, a quo trahitur ? Quomodo si cleuetur Virga contra eleuantem se, & exaltetur baculus qui vtiq; lignum est.* That is to say: Shall the Axe boast it selfe against him that he weth with it ? Or shal the Saw set vp it selfe against him that draweth it ?
That

That were as much as if the Rod should be lifted up against him that listeth it, and as if the staffe that is but timber, should be aduanced.

The vngodlie man, sayth Salomon, hath the Lorde made for himselfe, euen against the euill day: that is, against the day of vengeance, wherein the vngodly shall haue theyr iust rewarde at Gods hand. By this, not onely the vngodlie is iustly punished for his vngodlinesse, but the godlie is also occasioned to acknowledge, that it is mercie alone that doeth preserue him from the like punishment. For he seeth in himselfe no cause why he should not suffer the same condemnation. Thus by the wicked, both the iustice and mercy of God are made manifest vnto man. But the purpose of the vngodlie is nothing lesse than that Gods iustice and mercie should be set forth by him: therfore he is iustly punished for his wickednesse. And Ease the Prophet, comparing Nabuchodonosor to an Arie, a Sawe, and a Rodde: doth plainly teach, that it was God that wrought all the plagues and destructions that were by that wicked instrument brought, not onely vpon the people of the Iewes, but vpon other Nations also. And that that bloudie and ambitious tyrant, was but as an Arie, Sawe, or Rod in the Lords hand. And therfore when he began to boast of his owne power and policie, as though he had by his owne wisdom and strength ouercome kingdomes, and set himselfe aboue them: the Lord (to let his people know that it was not Nabuchodonosors power that could haue done, or that should doe those things to them, which the Prophetes did tell them should come vpon, by the Kings of Babilon) doeth tell them by the mouth of the same Prophetes, that the worke was his, and that the Kings of Babilon were but hys toles or instrumentes to worke withall.

But this can not Cerberus abide: God must be but a
looker

An Apologie of Crowley

looker on, and no doer in any of these things. For if God should be a worker, he must needs be the Authour of the sinne that is in the deede. For the old Curte hath his eyes so blinded with the filthie smudder of Hell fire : that he can not see how God may be the Authour of the fact, and not of the sinne that is in it. But when he heareth that saying : he crieth out. Areade, Areade, what is this ? In Cerberus his iudgement, eyther Job must be a liar, or else God must be a theefe. For when word came to Job that the Sabeis had slaine his seruauntes, and driven away his cattle : he sayd, the Lord hath taken the away. But to take away Jobs cattle was felonie, Ergo, eyther God was a Felon, or Job a liar, if Cerberus his opinion be true.

But how God doth worke in the heartes of euill and wicked men, and vse them as his instruments, and yet is not partaker of their sinne : is sufficiently declared afore, out of S. Austen, *De gratia & libero arbitrio*.

Nowe Cerberus will looke that I shoulde say something to the words of Prosper. Other wise he will make reckning that he hath the victorie. For a little occasion maketh him to brag. The obiection that the Frenchmen made against the sentence of S. Austen, in the place that Cerberus speaketh of, is this. *Quod liberum arbitrium in homine nihil sit : sed siue ad bonum siue ad malum, predestinatio Dei in hominibus operetur*. That is to say. That S. Austen should holde that free will in man is nothing : but that Gods predestination doth worke in men, whether it be to good or to euill. The answer to this obiection is thus. *Liberum arbitrium nihil esse, vel non esse, perperam dicitur : sed ante illuminationem fidei, in tenebris illud, & in umbra mortis agere, non recte negatur. Quoniam priusquam a dominatione Diaboli per Dei gratiam liberetur : in illo profundo iacet, in quod se sua libertate demersit. Amat ergo langores suos, & pro sanitate habet,*

habet, quod agrotare se nescit, donec prima hæc medela conferatur
 aegroti, ut incipiat nosse quod langueat, & possit opem medici desir-
 derare, qua surgat. Iustificatus itaq; homo, id est, ex impio pius
 factus, nullo precedente bono merito, accipit donum, quo medio, ad-
 quirat & meritum: ut quod in illo inchoatum est per gratiam
 Christi, etiam per industriam liberi augeatur arbitrii, nunquam
 remoto adiutorio Dei, sine quo, nec proficere, nec permanere in bono
 quisquam potest. Predestinationem autem Dei, siue ad bonum siue
 ad malum in hominibus operari, ineptissime dicitur, ut ad utrumq;
 homines quedam necessitas videatur impellere: cum in bonis, vo-
 luntas sit intelligenda de gratia, in malis autem intelligenda sine
 gratia. That is. To say that free will is nothing, or that
 there is no free will at all, is euil sayd; but that the same
 doth wander in darknesse and in the shadow of death be-
 fore it is illumined by faith, is not well denied. For be-
 fore it is by the grace of God deliuered from the domina-
 tion of the Diuell: it lyeth in that deepe dongion, into
 which by it owne libertie it did cast it selfe. It doth ther-
 fore loue it owne sore sicknesses, and doth compt it helth,
 not to knowe that it is sicke, vntyll this first medicine be
 ministred to it being sicke, that it may begin to know
 that it is sick, and be able to desire the helpe of the Medi-
 cation, whereby it may aryse. When man therefore is iu-
 stified, that is to say, made goodlie of vngoodlie, without
 any good deseruing going before, he receyueth a gift, by
 which meane he maye also get merit or deseruing: that
 that thing which is by the grace of Christ begonne in
 him, may also by the industrie of free will be encreased,
 neuer without the helpe of God, without which no man
 can eyther go forward, or stay in that which is good. But
 it is most foolishly said, that the predestination of God doth
 so worke in men, eyther to good or to euill, that a certain
 necessitie may seeme to force men forward vnto both: see-
 ing that in god, the will is to be vnderstanded to come

An Apologie of Crowley

of grace, & in euill, the will is to be vnderstanded without grace.

Now (gentle Reader) thou seest what it was that the French men objected against S. Austen. Thou seest also what Prosper doth answere in S. Austens defence. Consider now what occasion Cerberus hath to conclude against vs as he doth.

The French men object, that S. Austen should hold that free will in man is nothing, but that Gods predestination doth worke in men, whether it be to good or euil. Prosper answereth, that it is an euil saying: to affirme that free will is nothing, or that there is no free will at all. And that it is most foolishly sayd, that the predestination of God doth so worke in the heartes of men, either to good or euil, that a certaine necessitie may seeme to force men forward vnto both. But we do neyther say that free will is nothing, or that there is none at all: neither that predestination doth so worke in men, that a certaine necessitie may seeme to force them forward both to good and euil: No, we do not affirme that predestination doeth worke in men any thing at all. *Ergo*, Prosper hath written nothing against vs.

Cerberus.

And further, Crowley in the sayd booke of confutation before named, and the same article, vsing the very same terme of driuing, he sayeth that Gods predestination hath driuen them to it. And yet not therewith content, anone after he sayeth: We are compelled by the necessitie of Gods predestination, to do those things for the which we are damned, but to repeate the whole sentence. To this must we answere (sayth he) in thys wyse. If God were an inferiour to anie

anie superior power, to the which he ought to render an accompt of his doings, or if anie of vs were, not his creatures, but of another creation besides his workmanship, then might we charge him with tyrannie, bicause he condemneth vs, and appoynted vs to be punished for the things we doe by compulsion through the necessitie of his predestination.

Marke here by the way, how al rulers be charged wyth tyrannie for punishing of malefactors, first graūt thys proposition which he affirmeth: That al offenders, as murderers, theues and traytours, cōmit their offences by the compulsion of predestination. Secondly, this assumed *minor* (which he also affirmeth) that it is tyranny for one which is an inferior power, and not theyr creator, to punish them which do commit crimes by such compulsion. Then must it needes follow, that al rulers are tyrants which punish malefactors, and are no creators, but inferior powers, bicause all malefactors could not chose but commit such wicked offences, being driuen thereunto by compulsion, through the necessitie of predestination.

Wo worth the sinful generatiō of our age, which hath bred and brought forth such a noisome noueltie, and straunge Paradox, to whom the handes of Gods mercie are stretched out all the day long: and yet they are euer defying him to the face, as the Prophete sayth. Esay. 65. Consider I desire thee, not the persons of them that speake, be they neuer so high, neuer so wise, neuer so many, but marke the opinion it selfe: euen in thy conscience, and in the sight of God, whether any thing may be spoken more repugnant to the nature of God, more contrarie to the word of God, more defacing the iustice and mer-

An Apologie of Crowley

cie of God, than to say, that God punisheth man with the torments of Hel, in euerlasting fier, for doing those thyngs whych he himselfe hath predestinate, ordeyned, decreed, determined, appoynted, wylled and compelled hym to do: and that whych a man can not choose but must needes doe, by the force and compulsion of hys predestination.

All which thyngs in thole playne termes, they most euidently teach in diuers partes of theyr wrtings, but of all other this is most odious and horrible, where they affyrme that men sinne by compulsion, through the necessitie of Gods predestination.

And the verie same sayth Knoxe in the.317. side of his booke, before named, affirming likewyse in those playne termes: that the wycked are not onely left by Gods suffryng, but compelled to sinne by power, and he citeth it as the saying of Augustine agaynst *Iulian. Lib.3. Cap.5.* But very falsly (as I suppose) for I haue sought the same place in Augustine, and he hath neyther those words, neyther any such like, that import the same or any like matter.

Wherefore, till such time as they make better proufe: I must thinke that they haue forged a lye in Augustines name, supposing thereby to giue Authoritie to falshode. But to cōclude, whether it were the saying of Augustine, or not, you see it is plainly their opiniō, not only that men can not choose, but do what wickednesse or mischief soeuer they do, but also they are compelled wyth the power, force, or compulsion of Gods predestination, to commit all those euils and wicked crymes, for the whych they are executed wyth the temporall sworde, or damned with euerlasting torment.

Crowley

Crowley.

It doth here manifestly appeare, that Cerberus hys chiefe quarrell is against Crowley. For though there be other that haue writtten as plaine, and as open matter for the necessitie of Predestination as I haue, and to say the truth more plaine too: yet doth Cerberus lay the matter to no mans charge so often & so openly as he doth to mine. For this is now the fift tyme y he hath made playne mention of mee in this his short aunswere to hys friendes Letter. No maruell therefore, though the malice of his minde, doe sometimes cause him to misconster my wordes and writtings, as in this place he doeth, placing my wordes so in this his aunswere, that they seeme to haue a manifest meaning farre differing from that which they haue in y place where I wrote them in mine aunswere to Shaxton. First he sayth, y bring the terme of drining, I haue sayde, that Gods Predestination hath driven them to it. Now (Gentle Reader) I must make the iudge of the meaning of these wordes, in the place where they stande writtten by mee.

After I had declared, that the Administration of the common weale by publike Ministers, lawes and ordinances, coulde not be other than profitable, and alwayes redounding to the glorie of God, notwithstanding that the hauing of such ministers and ministrations, is a thing that commeth to passe of necessitie and can not but be: I laboured to make the matter more plaine by certain questions, wherof this is one. How could it haue bene, that so great and rude multitudes of barbarous nations, should haue submitted themselues, to be vnder lawes & rulers: had not Gods Predestination driven them to it?

Here be the wordes in that order y I first wrote them.

U.ij.

Now

An Apologie of Crowley

Nowe Iudge (gentle Reader) whether Cerberus meant simply, when he cited them thus: He sayth, that Gods Predestination hath dyden the to it. Adding such words immediately after, that it might seeme that I had spoken these wordes in no such meaning: but rather, that my whole meaning had bene, to affirme that God doth by his Predestination, forcyble men to doe the things that they are damned for. For he saith, that I say: We are compelled by the necessitie of Goddes Predestination, to doe those things, for which we are damned. And then to set a shew of indifferēce vpon his doing, as though he meant nothing lesse than to applie my wordes otherwise than my meaning was, he sayth, that he will repeate y whole sentence, in this maner. To this must we aunswere. &c. As though the aunswere that I make, were but an aunswere to mine own wordes, which I haue before affirmed.

But y thou mayst see (gentle Reader) what wordes they be that I doe there make aunswere vnto: I will set them downe here in wryting, as they stande in my booke, against Shaxton. They are these.

Well, here followeth yet another inconueniēcie, and that is this. If all things be done of necessitie: Why should any man be blamed for misdeeding? Why should any man be damned, sithens all they do is but the ordinance of God, and that more is, they can not auoide the necessitie, wherby they are constrained to do al that they do. Wherefore if they should endeavour to refrain the euil y they do, it were but al in vaine, for they are predestinated eyther to do it, or else to leaue it vndone. Justly therefore can they not be condemned, because the euill they do, is not of themselues, but of the ordinance of God.

And then follow the wordes that Cerberus hath cited. But when he commeth to those wordes that myght some thing shewe my meaning to be otherwyle than he would

would haue it seeme to be : he stayeth. I will therefore set downe those wordes which doe immediately followe, which are these. But soasmuch as he is subiect to no superiour power, and we be all his creatures : so that to what ende soeuer he haue framed vs, we are his instruments to doe the work that he hath appointed to be done : why shoulde we stande by and reason with him to know his purpose in creating vs, or why he made vs to this or that fashion : to this or that vse : to be precious or vile : For this one thing we may be sure of, that God hath by his eternall wisdom, created nothing, nor appointed nothing to be done, but the same shall redounde to hys glory in the ende : seeme it neuer so contrarie in h meane time. Let vs hearken to the words of S. Paule to h Rom. 9. *Rom. 9.* manes in this matter. What if God (sayth he) willing to shew. &c.

Here thou mayest see (gentle Reader) what malice may doe. I sayde that so many barbarous and rude nations woulde neuer haue submitted themselues to liue vnder lawes, if Goddes Predestination had not driuen them to it : meaning that God in hys wisdom & euermaking prouidence, had appointed that all multitudes of peoples should be gouerned by lawes and orders, and to bring thē thereunto, he vsed such meanes, that they were driuen to chouse rather to liue vnder lawes, and so to continue and flourish, than to liue without lawes, and so decay and come to naught. But Cerberus doth maliciously conser my wordes, as though my meaning were, driuen to be vnder lawes, as shepe are driuen from the pasture to the folde. But I spake of men, and not of brute beasts. We vse to say that men are driuen, some by feare, some by frendship, some by affection, some by infirmitie, and some by pouertie and neede : and yet in all these cases, we meane not that man hath not a will which consenseth.

An Apologie of Crowley

teth to the thing that he doeth : but that the will of man is by these meanes induced to chouse that which it consenteth vnto, and to leaue the other which it refuseth to do. Againe, in answering the inconuenience that Cerberus & such as he is, do say wil ensue vpon the doctrine of necessity of Gods predestination : I sayd : If God were an inferiour to any superiour power, or if we were of another creation, and not of his making : then might we charge him with tyrannie, bicause he condemneth vs, and appointeth vs to be punished for the things we do by compulsion. Not meaning (as Cerberus doth maliciously affirme that I do meane) that man is compelled by force without the consent of his will, to do those actions which God doth condemne him for, and appoint him to be punished for : For that were to denie God to be God, and man to be man. For God is not God, vnlesse he be both iust and mercifull. But there shoulde appeare in him neyther mercie nor iustice, if he should vse such compulsion, as Cerberus would haue me seeme to teach. And if man should be so spoyled of the libertie of his will, that he shoulde be compelled to do actions without all consent of will : then were man spoyled of his principall part, which is his reasonable soule, without which he is not, neyther can be thought to be man.

I am not so beastly therefore, as to speake of such a compulsion. But I speake of the same that Knoxe spake of in the place that Cerberus citeth, I trow, for I dare not affirm vpon his word, neither haue I seene the booke my selfe. But the matter that Cerberus sayeth Knoxe hath cited out of S. Austen, I haue seene in S. Austen, not in the 3. booke and 5. chapter against Julian : but in the 5. booke and 3. chapter against the same. Bylike Cerberus had little leysure and lesse lust to reade S. Austens words, & therefore not finding them at the first chop, he thought it

it should be enough for hym to say, that he must thinke that we haue forged alie in S. Austens name. But to put thee out of doubt, gentle Reader, that Cerberus hys thought is a lying thought: I will set downe S. Austens wordes in writing, and request thee to reade the rest of that Chapter, wherein I haue founde them writtē. And then I doubt not but thou wilt consent to that compulsion that I haue spoken of.

The wordes of S. Austen are these. *Quid est autem quod dicis, cum desiderijs suis traditi dicuntur, relictī per patientiam intelligēdi sunt, nōn per potentiam in peccata compulsi: quasi nōn simul posuerit hec duo idem Apostolus, & patientiam & potentiam, ubi ait. Sic autem volens Deus ostendere iram, & demonstrare potentiam suam, attulit in multa patientia vasa ira, quæ perfecta sunt in perditionem. Quid horum tamen dicis esse quod scriptum est? Et Prophetā si errauerit, & locutus fuerit, ergo Dominus seduxi Prophetam illum, & extendam manum meam super eum, & exterminabo eum in medio populi mei Israel: Patientia est, an potentia? Quodlibet eligas, vel vtrumq; fatearis: vides tamen falsa Prophetāntis peccatum esse, pœnamq; peccati. An & hic dicturus es quod ait. Ego Dominus seduxi Prophetam illum, intelligendum esse, descriui: ut pro cuius meritis seductus erraret? Age ut vis. Tamen eo modo punitus est pro peccato, ut falsum prophetando peccaret. That is to say: What is the meaning of thy wordes, when thou sayest, that those men that are said to be giuen ouer to their owne lustes, must be vnderstande to be left by patience or sufferance, and not compelled or thrust into sinne by power: as though that same Apostle did not set downe both these two, both sufferance and power, when he sayeth. And so God being willing to shew forth his wrath, and to set forth his power, hath in much patience brought hyther the vessels of wrath, which were made meete for destruction. And yet, whether of these things doest thou say that that is which*

August. lib. 5

Cap. 3. contr.

Iulian.

Rom. 9.

Ezech. 14.

An Apologie of Crowley

is written: And if a Prophet do erre and speake lies: I the Lord haue seduced that Prophet, and I will stretch out mine hand vpon him, and I wil utterly rote him out from amongst my people of Israell. Is this sufferance, or power: Which soeuer thou doest chuse: or if thou graunt both: yet doest thou see, that the false prophetic is sinne, and the punishment of sinne also. Wilt thou here also say, that where he sayth, I the Lord haue seduced that Prophet: it must be vnderstand, I haue left him, that being seduced according to his owne deservings, he he might erre: do as thou wilt. Yet is he in this sort punished for his sinne: that by prophesying a lie he might sinne.

Nowe, I trow, Cerberus will not say, that Knoxe hath forged a lye in S. Austens name, supposing thereby to giue authoritie to falsehood. And if Cerberus would take the paines to reade the whole Chapter wherein these words of Austen are written: I doubt not but he should vnderstand how God may by power cōpel men to sinne, and yet punish them iustly for their sinne, which they commit by such compulsion. For they are not compelled without the consent, yea the free consent, of their owne will.

But least Cerberus should thinke, that not being able to aunswere that which he concludeth vpon my words, I haue slyly slipped it ouer: I must say some thing to that wherewith he chargeth me. That is, the charging of all Magistrates with tyrannie, for that they, not being Creators, do punish men for those offences that they commit by compulsion. He frameth an Argumēt against me, the *maior* proposition whercof is not affirmed by me (as Cerberus sayth it is) for I haue not in any place writtē, that theues, murderers, &c. doe commit theyr offences by the compulsion of predestination: but by compulsion, thow the necessitie of predestination, meaning that cōpulsion

pulsion and necessitie that S. Austen speaketh of in the places that I haue before cited out of his woorkes, which is not without the free consent of the will.

The *minor* (which is, that it is tyrannie for one that is an inferior power, and not their Creator, to punish them that do commit crimes by such compulsion) I do not in any part of my writings affirme. Wherefore Cerberus doth me open wrong, to conclude that I charge all rulers with tyrannie.

The rulers are commaunded of God (who is theyr ruler, and to whom they shal render an account of their doings) that they shall punish the breakers of Gods commaundements, and to that ende hath God giuen them a sword. And vnto them therefore, if they do not punish such, and defend the innocent. And when they do punish the offenders, and defend the innocent: then do they their dutie. So far of do I thinke them to be from the fault of tyrannie. Rom. 13.

But Cerberus woulde fayne haue the Rulers angry with vs, and especially with Crowley. And therefore he labourerh to make the beleue that Crowley saith that which he neuer thought. The words that Cerberus hath cited out of my booke against Shaxton, when they be indifferently weyghed, shall be found none other in effect, than are those wordes that Esaie wrote in the. 45. Chapter of his Prophecies, where he sayeth thus: *Vt contendenti cum fectore suo. Testa cum testis terra contendat. An dicet lutum fictori suo, quid facis? & opus tuum manibus destituitur.* That is to say, Who be to him that doth contend with his maker. Let the earthen vessell contend with the earthen vesselles. Shall the claye saye vnto him that made it: what dost thou make? and thy worke is not made with handes? Esaie. 45.

What other thing can Esaie meane by these words:

E. ij.

but

An Apologie of Crowley

but that as it is a thing farre vnſeemely for a piece of clay to ſtand vp and reaſon with him that tempereth it with his fingers, and to ſay vnto him, why doeſt thou faſhion me after this ſort : ſo is it vnſeemely that man ſhould reaſon with God, concerning his purpoſe in making him after this faſhion or that, or to this uſe or that uſe : But if man wil reaſon this matter : let him reaſon it with him who is a man as he is : ſo were there ſome reaſon in his doings. For although one man haue by Gods ordinance, authoritie ouer other men : yet may not that man do with the reſt what he luſteth, as God maye doe with his creatures.

Wherefore, I conclude, that Cerberus his exclamati-
on, with woe worth the ſinfull generation of our age, &c.
is not worth the weighing, neyther would Cerberus if
he had ſeene thus much before, haue thought it worth the
writing as I ſuppoſe.

Cerberus.

Against which errour crieth out the word of God
in a multitude of places : manifeſtly prouing, that
through the grace & helpe of God, me may chooſe,
and are neyther driuen by absolute neceſſitie, nor
compelled by Gods Predeſtination, to commit mur-
der, theft, treason or any ſuch flagitious offence, nor
any maner of ſinne or euill, whatſoeuer it be. As for
example : Moyſes ſayth : Therefore chooſe life.
Deut. 30. And Iofua ſayeth, chooſe whome you will
ſerue. And after when the people promiſed to ſerue
the Lord only, he ſayth vnto them, you are witneſſes
vnto your ſelues, that ye haue choſen the Lord to
ſerue him. Iofua. 24. But afterward when the people
forſoke the Lord agayne, and choſe other Gods: the
Lord

Lord sayth vnto them. Goe, crie vnto the Gods which ye haue chosē. Iud. 10. Christ sayeth, Marie hath chosē hir that good part, which shall not be taken from hir. Luc. 10. Dauid sayth: I haue chosē the way of truth: and againe in the same Psalme: I haue chosē thy commaundements: Psalm. 119. But the Lord saith by his Prophet Esay: They did wickednesse before mine eyes, and chose the thyng that pleased me not. Esay. 65. and in the next chapter he sayth. *Et elegerunt quae ego nolui*. And they haue chosē those things whych I would not. Esay. 66.

Thus it is playne, that as choose, and can not choose agree together, so doth their opinion agree wyth the Scripture, for such direct contrarietie is betwene choise and meere necessitie, betwene violēt compulsion and christian libertie, that blacke and white, may wyth more possibilitie, be coupled in a subiect.

But it is maruell to see, how scrupulous some mē are in these wordes of choyse. I doubt whether they dare read these & many such like places of scripture, which so plainly speake of choyse: But perhap they alway skip ouer that word, or reade some other in steade therof, as the Iewes do *Adonai* in steade of *Iehouah*, for surely manie are so afrayde of freewill, that they fall as the Prouerbe sayth, out of the lime Kell into the cole pit, from high presumption into depe desperation, fiercelie following that olde spirite of wicked *Pelagi*, as before it is touched in the. ix. of his diuelish errors, where he affirmeth, that if a mā haue neede of Gods helpe, then hath he no freedome or choyse at all: Thus do they breake theyr shippe vpon the perillous rocke, seeking to escape the dangerous Hurlepole. For an horrible presumption it

An Apologie of Crowley

was of *Pelagius*, to thinke that a man by nature, had such power to choose good, and refuse euill, that he needed not the grace and helpe of God: and a desperate opinion is this of other, to say that the predetermination of God worketh all things in man, whether it be good or euill, and that a man can not choose, but do whatsoeuer he doth. For no doubt, thys opinion maketh a verie disordered *Chaos*, and an vtter cōfution of al thyngs, as it were mixing & thrusting together, both heauen, earth and hell. Making one confused lumpe, of God, the Diuell and the world. Of sinne, grace, and nature, turning all doings into dreames, all trueth into traunces, all veritie into fables, all prayer and meditation into vaine imagination.

For if Gods predestination be the onlie cause of Adams fall and filthie sinne, and consequently the onely cause and worker of all euill, yea euen wyth compulsion & force, as they shamefully and plainly affirme, then will no man denie, that on the other side: Gods predestination worketh as violently in all thyngs that are good.

So then if Gods predestination work all, without all exception, both in euill and good, then all other things, whatsoeuer they be, although they appeare to worke, and doe some thing, yet doe they in dede vtterly nothyng. So that the Diuell doth nothyng, man doth nothing, lawes do nothing, doctrine doth nothing, prayer doth nothyng: but Gods predestination doth altogether, & is the efficient cause, yea and the only cause of all thyngs.

Agaynst thys opinion, the worde of God is exceeding playne and manifest, not only in the places before rehearsed, but also in these folowing, here briefly

ly noted, yea and abundantly throughout the whole Scripture. Gene. 4. a. Reg. 24. b. 1. Para. 21. b. Pro. 3. d. Eccle. 15. c. 4. Esd. 7. b. d. & g. e. & 9. a. Luk. 10. d. & f. Ioã 1. b. Act 5. a. 1. Cor. 7. g. & 9. a. & 10. c. & 14. f. 2. Cor. 13. c. Phil. 4. c. Heb. 11. Against this euill opinion, also doe all the auncient Doctors wyth one consent vehemently write, as they by themselves cannot denie, except only Augustine, whych bicause of his exceeding obscuritie and darkenesse in diuers places, he is often alleaged of both partes.

Also against this opinion, writeth earnestly Philip Melancthon the chieft and best learned of all the Germanes: In like maner doth Bullenger, the chieft and most excellent of all the Switcers. The same doth also *Erasmus Cicerius*, and manie other of the best learned Protestantes, whose sayings were profitable here to rehearse, but that theyr iudgemēt in thys matter is well known to all the learned, and my determination is at this present, rather briefly and simplic, to declare what part of doctrine I and many other mislike, than wyth long discourse and manie authorities to disproue the same.

Crowley.

In a multitude of places (sayth Cerberus) the worde of God cryeth oute against the doctrine of the necessitie of Gods Predestination: manifestly prouing that, through the grace and helpe of God, men may chose, and are neither driuen by absolute necessitie, nor compelled by Gods Predestination, to commit murder, thefte. &c. As for example, Moyses sayth. Deut. 30. Chose lyfe. &c. Haue I sayde that man is driuen by absolute necessitie? Or that he is compelled by the compulsion of Gods Predestination to

An Apologie of Crowley

to commit murder, theft. &c : I am sure Cerberus is not able to shewe it, in any of my writings. And I think he hath not seene it in anye of the writings of them that he writeth against.

But this is his maner, when we speake of such a kind of necessitie as followeth vpon the prescience of **G D D**, which can not be deceiued : then will he make y^e worlde beleue, that we affirme an absolute necessitie, wherein the will wresteling and struing to the contrarie, is enforced to giue place, and violently driuen to doe that it woulde not : And when we speake of that compulsion, that God vseth in deliuering the wicked and obstinate sinners into a reprobate sense, to commit things that are vnseemely : that by sinning, their former sinne might be punished : then Cerberus woulde haue men to beleue y^e we meane of a violent compulsion, which man strueth against, but is not able to resist the force & violence of it.

Wel, I doubt not but the indifferent Readers of this Apologie, will haue a better opinion of vs than so. For it doth plainely appeare by the words hereof, that we teach no such necessitie, violent drining, nor compulsion.

But we saie, with the Scripture, and auncient and all sounde Fathers : that Gods prescience, prouidence, & Predestination, can not be disapointed, but muste needes come to passe, as he hath foresene, and in prouidence predestinated that it shoulde : and yet not without the consent of the wyll, in those whome God did knowe before woulde consent, and in foreknowledge did appoint to consent, and to chuse the things which he knewe before that they woulde chuse.

The Scriptures therfore, that Cerberus citeth out of Moyses, Iosua, Iudges, Dauid and Esai : are nothing against vs, for we confesse as much as is taught by them. We confesse also, that man may by the grace and helpe of

of God chose to refuse murder, theft, &c. What is it then that Cerberus hath sayde against vs? He woulde faine haue men think that we teach, that God is not able with his grace and helpe to make men able to refuse y^e which is euill, and to chose to do that which is good. As though we should think no better of our God, than the heathen Poets did of their Iupiter. Whome they bring in, lamenting that he was by the destinies letted so, that he coulde not doe that good for his deare children, y^e he would gladly haue done for them. But we knowe, that our God is able to doe what he will doe, and that he is present in all places, and doth in all places al that he is willing to doe. Yea, we doe confesse with S. Paule, that by his helpe that doth comfort & strengthen vs, we are able to doe all things. So farre are we from thinking, that man is not, or may not be able by Gods helpe to refuse to commit murder, &c. Phil. 4.

But Cerberus sayth it is playne, that as chose and can not chose doe agree together: so doth our opinion agree with the Scripture. And then he setteth inere necessitie and violent compulsion, against Christian libertie. That doctrine may be his owne. We refuse it as none of ours. But if Cerberus would come to talke: a man might aske him in what pointes the Christian libertie doth consist. Whether he meane that it consisteth in an absolute power to do what we will, bicause he maketh inere necessitie and violent compulsion, the contraries to it. If he meane so, then doth he not meane as S. Paule doth meane in his Epistle to y^e Galathiās, where he exhorteth them to stande in that libertie wherewith Christ hath made vs free: As may well appeare to as many as will reade the Text. Well, I will leave thys matter, tyll I may knowe Cerberus and talke with him mouth to mouth. Galat. 5.

Aa. j.

As

An Apologie of Crowley

As for those that be so scrupulous in the wordes of choyse, let them (if there be any such) aunswere for themselves. For my parte, I can be well contented to reade them and heare them too: but to apply them as Cerberus doth, I think no man can be so scrupulous, that will not agree with Cotta, who woulde rather that God shoulde not know of things before they came to passe, than that man should not haue free choyse to doe what he will. And yet do I not follow the spirit of Pelagius: as I haue shewed before vpon that ninth Article that Cerberus speaketh of: neyther haue I, in seeking to escape the daungerous Hurlepoole, dashed my shippe against the perillous Rocke, as Cerberus woulde haue men to thinke that I and such other haue.

But if Gods predestination be the cause. &c. Then, saith Cerberus. &c. This (if) is alreadye aunswered. I wil not therfore trouble the Reader with it any more.

But if Gods predestination worke all: then the Diuell, man, lawes, doctrine, and prayer, do nothing. This is the very reason that Cotta and Cicero made (as S. Austen declareth in his fyft booke *De Ciuitate Dei. Cap. 9.*) And in the tenth Chapter of the same booke, he doth aunswere this obiection, declaring to what vse, lawes, doctrine and prayers do serue. His wordes are these: *Male autem uiuitur, si de Deo non bene creditur. Unde, absit à nobis eius negare prescientiam, ut liberi esse velimus, quo adiuuante sumus liberi, vel erimus. Proinde, non frustra sunt leges, oburgationes, exhortationes, laudes, & vituperationes: quia & ipsas futuras presciuit, & valent plurimum, quantum illas ualeturas presciuit: & preces valent ad ea impetranda, quae se precantibus concessurum esse presciuit: & iusta premia bonis factis, & peccatis supplicia constituta sunt. Neque enim ideo peccat homo, quia Deus illum peccaturum presciuit: imò, ideo non dubitatur ipsum peccare cum peccat: quia ille, cuius prescientia falli non potest, non fatum, non fortunam*

*August. De
Ciui. Dei. lib.
5. Cap. 10.*

fortunam, non aliquid aliud, sed ipsum peccatum presciuit, qui si nolit, omnino non peccat. Sed si peccare noluerit: etiam hoc ille presciuit. That is to saye. The life of man is euill, when his beliese concerning God is not good. Wherefore, be it far from vs, that we, to y^e end that we our selues would be free, should denie the prescience of him, by whome we are or shal be free. Therfore, lawes, reprehensions, exhortations, commendations, and sharpe rebukes, are not in vaine: bicause that both he did knowe before hand that they should come to passe, and also they are of great force, euen of as great force as he did foreknow that they should be. And iust rewardes are appointed for good workes, and punishments for sinnes. Neyther doth man sin, bicause God did knowe before that he should sinne. Yea rather, it is therfore out of doubt that he doth sinne, when he doeth sinne: bicause he, whose foreknowledge can not be deceyued, did know before, that it was not destinye, nor fortune, or anie other thing, that should sinne, but he himselfe. Which if he be not willing: he sinneth not at all. But if he should not be willing to sinne: God did also know that before.

Here may Cerberus see (as it were in a glasse) howe far vnlike S. Austen he is in this matter: and how liuely he doth resemble his olde friendes Cicero and Cotta. For feare of graunting anie necessitie to follow vpon y^e prescience and predestination of God: he will rather graunt that God may be deceyued, and that he is altogether carelesse, and predestineth nothing so certainly, but that man may by the power of his will alter and chaunge it. And this is in effect, as much as to denie that there is any God at all.

But the worde of God is exceeding plaine and manifest against this opinion (sayth Cerberus.) For Genes. 4. 2. King. 24. &c. are places most manifestly against it.

Aa. y.

But

An Apologie of Crowley

But al those places I leaue to be weighed by y Reader, who keeping in minde that which I haue witten in the former part of this Apologie, may easily vnderstand how they make against that opiniō that we hold. And to giue the Reader some occasion to conceiue a good opinion of Cerberus in the citing of his Scriptures for his purpose: I wil set downe the iudgement of his owne Austen, in those questions *ex utroq; testamento*, that Cerberus and I haue spoken of before: wherein shall appeare how that Austen vnderstandeth the first of Cerberus Scriptures, which he citeth out of the fourth of Genes. His words be these. *Itaq; nō quia obrulit reprehensus est, sed quia indigna obtulit. Neq; ex eo damnatus est, sed quia factum noluit emendare cōmonitus. Ad te enim ait conuersio eius, & tu dominaberis eius. Hoc est, me nō accipiente, ad tuum dominium conuersum est munus à te oblatum, vt de cetero sciret quid faceret.* That is to say: Therefore he was not rebuked, bycause he did offer a sacrifice; but bicause he did offer those things that were too vile to be offered. So, he was not condemned for that neyther: but bicause he would not amend his fact when he was told of it. For he sayth, thine offering shal return to thee againe, & thou shalt be Lord of it. That is, where as I do not receiue thine offering, it is returned againe to thine owne rule, so that he might know how he should vse the rest.

Nowe let the indifferent Reader iudge, howe thys place may by the iudgement of this Austen: be applied as Cerber⁹ would here haue it to be applied. And if Cerberus will haue this place serue his purpose, he must fight with his owne Austen be he neuer so loth to do it. But least this Apologie should increase too much, and passe the quantitie that I would haue it to growe vnto: I wil leaue the rest of the places that he citeth, to the consideration of the diligent Reader, assuring the same, that not one

one of those places shalbe found to make against vs.

All the auncient Doctors also (sayth Cerberus) and the best learned of the Protestantes. &c. doe vehemently write against our opinion . And Austen only bicause of his exceeding obscuritie. &c. is alleaged on both parts. But when Cerberus shall cite their wordes that they haue so vehemently written against vs : there shall none of them be found to maintaine his opinion. Which is, that in Christ all mankinde is elected . As it appeareth in the former part of this Apologie. Neyther shall any of them be found to write against that which we maintaine, whē their wordes and ours shal be well weighed, and our purposes perceyued, as all the learned may well vnderstand and know, though Cerberus be blinde on that side.

Cerberus.

Wherefore, to conclude. Take thys one note, in this matter of cannot choose, or of necessitie, both for the better vnderstanding of the thyng it self, and also of those which write therevpon.

They commonly speake of two kindes of necessitie. The one is, of necessitie absolute, and the other, of necessitie of consequence, or mere necessitie, and necessitie vpon condition, which diuision, all learned and good Authours do vse, and it is verie profitable to be considered. For touching the one, there is neyther reason, law, counsell or doctrine, neyther fayre promise, nor sharpe threatning, nor any other thyng whatsoever it be, which may helpe or hinder, adde or take away, hurt or profite . Wherefore, there is neuer any of al the aforesaid waies or meanes vied in any of all those things, whych come to passe by absolute necessitie.

An Apologie of Crowley

As for example: It is of meere necessitie, that the Diuell is and euer shal be damned, that the soule of man shal be euerslasting, and not come to an end, like to the life of beastes: nor the life of beastes be immortall as the soule of man, and such like. Wherein it were more than madnesse, to endeouour, eyther by reason, law, or counsell, or anie other way whatsoeuer it were, to alter, chaunge, withstand or remoue any of those thyngs, seing of meere necessitie they must needs be so, and can not be altered.

For as Austē saith: *Omne enim quod prohibetur, ideo prohibetur, ne (quia potest fieri) fiat. Si autem fieri esset, non posset fieri, neq. prohiberetur. Vt. & noui testamēt. Quēst. 115.* Whatsoeuer is forbidden (sayth Austen) therefore it is forbidden, bicause it might be done, and yet ought not to be done. But if it were of destinie, then could it not be done, nor should not be forbidden.

These words of Austen being few, conteine much matter, if they be truly weighed.

Now to the necessitie of consequence, or necessitie of condition, wherof Melancthon sayth: *Neq. enim hæc consequentia libertatem voluntatis tollit.* Neyther doeth thys consequence take away the libertie of the wyll. And thys necessitie is not repugnant to diligence, prayer, lawes and doctrine. For therefore (that I may vse agayne the wordes of Austen) thyngs are forbidden to be done, bicause they might be done, but ought not to be done. And thys necessitie groweth vpon former causes, graunted or wrought. As it is of necessitie, or needs must be, that sectes and heresies shall growe in the Church, bicause the wycked seeke their owne glorie, and Sathan stirreth theyr heartes, to imagine & set forth abominable errors, wherein they serue the Diuell, wyth all the diligence of

of their power. Wherefore, it must follow: that sects and heresies shall grow.

Neyther doth this necessitie proue, that they could not choose but commit such euilles: but seeing they do refuse the light, and embrace the darknesse, thys must necessarily follow, thys must needs be the end, that heresie & much mischief shal spring. Or as when a man presently beholdeth with his eyes murder, theft, drūkennesse, or any other wickednesse, it must nedes be true, that such things are committed according to that whych a man doth see plainly before hys eyes. Yet doeth it not follow, that those wicked doers could not choose but commit those outrageous crimes. But seeing that they do commit such thyngs, it must needs be true by the necessitie of consequence, that such things are committed of them. These two kindes of necessitie, doeth Austen notably declare, how, & after what sort they spring out of Gods predestination. *Lib. De Predest. Dei. Cap. 2.*

First of all (sayth Austen) it is horrible iniquitie to say, that God doeth predestinate anie thing: saying only that whych is good. But of predestinations, some be of bynding or of bondage, and other be of condition. These are of iustice, and those of power. And that it may be the more manifest, it shal be declared (sayth he) by example, which are of binding and power: and whych are of condition and iustice. God created heauen and earth, sunne and moone: Furder, he did foreordeyne or predestinate, that the heauen should euer be turned, and the vnmoueeable earth should be in place of a center vnto the turning heauen. The Sunne and Moone should rule the day and night. The day & night should succede one another in certain times appoynted. These predesti-

An Apologie of Crowley

predestinations are of power and of bynding. For euerie one of those thyngs afore sayd : is so bounde vnto hys worke, by the predestination of God, that it can not be moued from the same. But God created man, and did predestinate him, that if he were obedient, and did absteyn from the tast of the forbidden apple : he should liue, but if he were disobedient, he should abide the sentence of death. Thys predestination is of condition and of iustice. For God before the fall of man, dyd not by the power of binding so predestinate him to die, that of necessitie he must nedes die, but vnder that cōdition, if he sinned. Bicause therfore mā did sin, it was a righteous thing, that he should die. If he sinned not, he should not be bound to death by any chayn of Gods predestinatiō.

All these are the wordes of Austen. And thys diuision, is often repeated and commended, by the best learned of the Protestantes.

Crowley.

Now Cerberus will shortly come to an ende. For he will conclude with one note in this matter of can not chouse or necessitie. &c. And this note is of the two sortes of necessitie, one absolute, and the other of consequence. Or mere necessitie and necessitie vpon condition. &c.

And to make men beleue, that all that we doe, is to perswade me, that al things do come to passe of mere necessitie : he putteth for example the damnation of the Diuell, the immortallitie of mans soule, and the mortallitie of the brute beastes. As though the thoughts, words and doedes of men were like vnto these. And therfore it should as little auaille, to vse reason, law, counsell, doctrine, faire promises or threathnings, to pull men from euil thought,
words

words oꝝ deedes, and so from damnation, which doth necessarily folloꝝ vpon those doings, as it were by the same meanes to goe about to make the Diuell a saued spirite, mans soule mortall, & the life of a brute beast euerlasting.

But we speake not of that necessitie which is mere absolute: but we speake of the other, which is of consequence oꝝ condition. And therefore his Austens wordes are cited out of place (I saye his Austens wordes, because they are the wordes of the same Austen that I haue noted before not to be the Bishop of Hippoe) for these wordes of this Austen are spoken of the thoughtes, wordes and deedes of men, which, though they do come to passe by a certaine necessitie, as God vnd without beginning foresaw that they should: yet doth man vse the libertie of his will therein. For he doth neyther thinke, speake, nor doe a ny thing without the consent of his will. And there is no impossibilitie in man, but that his thoughtes, wordes and deedes may be contrarie to that they are.

As for example. There was no impossibilitie in Cerberus but that he might haue refrayned, both by writing, and publishing and casting abroade of this aunswere to his friends letter. Neyther was it impossible for me to refraine from writing this Apologie. And Cerberus and I both haue herein used the libertie of our will. And yet did God foresee & predestinate both his doings herein and mine. And as he did foresee that we should chouse to doe as we haue done: so did he also predestinate oure doings herein. So that chosing to doe as God did foresee and predestinate that we should chouse to doe: we haue done it by that necessitie that all learned Authours do call the necessitie of consequence oꝝ condition.

And God doeth foresee, whether this Apologie shall persuade Cerberus to be of one minde with vs oꝝ not. And if it shall be so: then hath God predestinated my labours

An Apologie of Crowley

hours to that end. If not : then shall my labours serue to some other purpose that God knew before . And yet do I herein vse the libertie of my will , and so shall Cerberus vse his. For neyther of vs is or shal be enforced to do that which our will would not haue vs do.

This is all the matter that the wordes of Cerberus his Austen do conteine, when they be truly weighed.

As for the sentence of Melancthon, it maketh nothing against vs , for we speake of the same necessitie that he speaketh of : and we affirme with him, that it taketh not away the libertie of mans will.

The same Melancthon, writing *De necessario* , in hys booke which he doth entitle *Erotematum dialectices* : sayeth that there be foure sortes of necessities. One absolute. As that God is true, liberall, iust, &c. Another of definitions or demonstrations : as a three cornered stone must of necessity haue three corners , and vertue must needes be a thing that agreeth with the rule of Gods will. The third is natural, in things which are so ordered in nature, that they can not otherwise be, in and by that order. But this necessitie may be altered at Gods pleasure, as by examples we see it hath . As at the redde sea when the water stode still on heapes like hilles, and when at the word of Iosua, the sunne stode stil and moued not, &c. The fourth and last, is that which al the businesse is about. And Cerberus would faine make all men beleue , that we make no difference betwene this fourth and the first.

Of this necessitie, doth Melancthon write thus. *Quartus gradus est mutabilitum, quæ tamen vocantur necessaria, necessitate consequentia, id est, quæ sunt quidem re ipsa mutabilia : sed non mutantur, vel quia sic à Deo decreta sunt, vel quia sequuntur ex causis, quæ non mutantur, cum tamen mutari potuissent, vel quia cum sunt, contradictoria simul veræ esse non possunt. &c.*

What is to saye . The fourth degree of necessities , is of those

those things which are mutable, which are notwithstanding called necessarie, by the necessitie of consequence. That is to say, which are in deede mutable: but are not chaunged, eyther so: that they be so decreed of God, or else so: that they doe follow vpon causes that are not chaunged, where as notwithstanding they might haue bene chaunged. Or else, so: that when they be done, the flat contraries of them, can not at the same time be true.

What haue I written against Shaxton more than this: The thoughts, the wordes, and the deedes of men, are of themselves mutable: but as God hath decreed, so shall it come to passe, in all mens thoughts, wordes and deedes.

It followeth therfore, that though þe teachers of sects, the murtherers, the theues and the drunkards, might haue withholden the consent of their willes from those wicked doings: yet God hauing decreed to punish eyther them or others by that meane, the thing must fall out according to that decree: and yet God remaine iust, and mans wil unconstrained, as I haue before sufficiently declared.

As touching the Text of Austen, that Cerberus citeth out of his booke *De Predestinatione Dei. Cap. 2.* I will first note what Erasmus and the rest of the learned so: do, thinke of that booke. *Hoc opusculum de Predestinatione Dei, nō esse Augustini, vel ipsa breuitas arguit. Deinde, hoc docet, quod Augustinus fortiter refellit, predestinationem esse ex operibus nostris. Videtur fragmentum alicuius libri, cuius studiosus quispian, proœmium & clausulam attexuit.* What is to say. This little worke of the predestination of God: is by the verie shortnesse thereof, shewed not to be of Austens writing. Moreover, it doth teach that predestinatio is of our workes, which thing Austen doth mightely refell. It seemeth to be a scrap of some booke, wherevnto some man, being desirous therof, hath fastened a proeme and conclusion.

Wh. ij.

Here

An Apologie of Crowley

Here thou mayst see (gentle Reader) of what authoritie this booke is, that Cerberus maketh so much of. I will not therefore spend any time in answering these words.

Cerberus.

Many things do offer themselves in this matter to be spoken, but my purpose of briefnesse causeth me to growe to an end. I haue thought good therefore in few wordes, to note one point more of euill doctrine, which now a dayes is taught, and it springeth also out of this foresaid proposition, that Gods predestination causeth all sinne and wickednesse, & this it is, that sinne is not the cause of Reprobation, nor of Gods hatred towards the wicked which are damned, which thing in deede, to be short, I graunt must needes follow, if the former conclusiō be true, that sinne commeth of Gods predestination, or that Gods predestination was the cause of Adams fall, which was the originall of sinne. For if sinne, or the originall thereof came of God, or of hys ordinance, and from God commeth nothing but that which is holie, iust and good, then is sinne, no sinne, and cannot be the cause of Gods hatred towards them that perish, except we should saye, that God hateth them for that thing, which is holie, iust, and good.

And least I should be thought, through pretence of breuitie, to passe ouer, wythout plaine proufe of that which I say, that thys part of doctrine, is also set forth and taught. I will rehearse one sentence of theirs published in print, which is so open and manifest, that it may serue as well as a thousand: I read in the forenamed booke translated out of French into English, toward the latter end of the booke, vpon

pon this place, thus noted in figures, and these verie words follow. Rom. 9. c. 11. 12. 13. He sayth not onely that Esau was ordeyned to be hated, before he did any euil: for in so saying, he should not seeme to exclude any thing, but an actual sinne & incredulitie. But he saith expressely, before he was borne: whereby he excludeth originall sinne, and all that whych might be considered in the person of Esau by hys byrth from the cause of hate.

Touching the Text, whervpon it is spoken, assuredly Inke serueth not worse to make Iuorie white: than these words, to open the minde and sence of the Apostle, as it were easy to proue, if shortnesse would suffer to make a digression, but touching that parte of doctrine: thou seest that he speaketh of two opinions: the one that actual sinne or incredulitie, should be the cause of Gods hatred toward the wycked: The other, that originall sinne, is the cause of Gods hate toward them. Thys man agaynst them both, taketh occasion vpon thys exâple of Esau: to exclude all that is in man, eyther outward sinne or inwarde, eyther originall sinne or actuall, from the cause of Gods hate, so that (if it be true which they say) God doth hate men: neyther for their outward wicked life, nor for their inwarde diuelish luste, but for hys owne pleasure onely.

Crowley.

The purpose to be brieft, causeth Cerberus to cut of many things that offer themselves to be spoken. Yet for all the hast, he must needs note one poynt more of euill doctrine. Which is, that sinne is not the cause of Reprobation. &c.

An Apologie of Crowley

I would faine know how Cerberus could aunswere this Argument. All causes are in order before their effectes ; but sinne was not before Reprobation : *Ergo* sinne could not be the cause thereof. Cerberus will denie the *minor*. For he holdeth that sinne was before Reprobatio. The *minor* therefore must be proued thus. Whatsoever was before Reprobation, is eternall ; but sinne is not eternall, *Ergo* sinne was not before Reprobation. If Cerberus wil doubt of *h^o maior*, it shalbe proued thus. Whatsoever was before Electio, is eternall : but Election and Reprobatio are of like antiquitie: *Ergo*, whatsoever was before reprobation is eternall. The *maior* is manifest by the wordes of S. Paul to the Ephesians. *Cap. 1. Sicm elegit nos in ipso ante mundi constitutionem.* As he elected vs in him before the worlde was made. And if Cerberus wyll doubt of the *minor* (as perhaps he will) then let him shew vs, how there can be a choyse where none are refused.

This might suffice for our defence in this matter that Cerberus doth now charge vs withall. But bicause he sayth that this our conclusion is the sequele of a proposition that we affirme, that is, that Gods predestination causeth all sinne and wickednesse : I must take some what more paine in the defence of that which we haue written.

First, I must say that Cerberus hath belyed vs : For we saye not that Gods predestination doeth cause any sinne. Then I must also denie, and haue alredie proued, that Adams fall was not the originall of sinne. Thirdly, we denie that the originall of sinne came of God : wherefore the conclusion that Cerberus maketh is not against vs.

But Cerberus hath found one sentence of ours so open and manifest, that it maye serue as well as a thousand. It is in the latter ende of the forenamed English booke

booke translated out of French, vpon the wordes of Paul Rom. 9. c. He saith not only, &c. Cerberus can not see how this Text of Paul may by those wordes be better opened, than Iuorie may be made white with ynke. But for hast to come to an ende, he will not stande to proue this, although he might easely do it, as he sayth.

But touching the two opinions, one that actuall sinne or incredulitie, the other that originall sinne, is the cause of Gods hatred towards men: this fellow (sayth Cerberus) taketh occasion vpon the example of Esau to exclude all that is in man, &c.

A little helpe woulde make this man of one minde with Origine, who writing vpon this parte of Pauls Epistle to the Rom. and these verie wordes, Jacob haue I loued, but Esau I haue hated: saith, that Jacobs soule being yet without a bodie, did purge it selfe, and when God saw the purenesse of it, he toke it, and put it into that bodie wherin Jacob was borne, and Esau his soule which had not cleansed it selfe, he put into a bodie made out of the same lump, but not to honour as the other was, bicause the soule of Esau was not worthe of such a bodie. So he loued Jacob (as Origine thinketh) bicause Jacobs soule had cleāsed it selfe before it came into h body: & he hated Esau, bicause his soule had not cleāsed it selfe.

If a man should aske this question of Cerberus: why did God loue Jacob and hate Esau: what could he answer, if he wyl not say, *Quia voluit*? bicause he woulde, If he will saye, that God respected the actuall righteousness and sinne that was in them: then shall he be found to ioyne with Origine. If he shall saye that he respected originall sinne in Esau, and did therfore hate him: then may it be asked why he did not hate Jacob for the same. For both were defiled therwō alike. But if Cerberus will say, that God had respect to h workes that they should do

An Apologie of Crowley

in the time of their life; then wold he loyne with the papistes: And that he wold not seme to do.

His best waye therefore, shalbe to ioyne with vs, and say: That God loued Jacob and hated Esau, because it pleased him so to doe. And if any man shall stand by to dispute the matter any further: then to answer with S. Paule. *O homo tu quis es, qui respondeas Deo?* O thou mā, who art thou, that darest take vpon thee to reason wyth God?

Cerberus.

That verie same thyng sayth Knoxe in the.141. pag. of hys foresayd booke: where his wordes are these. Further I saye: that if Esau was hated for his euill deseruing, then must it needes follow, that Iacob was loued for hys well deseruing, by the Argument following: of the nature of contraries.

As well it might be said, it must needes follow by the contraries: that if a King or Prince hate one mā, whych hath well deserued his hate, by stealing from him his ring, his chain, or some great Iuel, the doth he not loue any other man, but he whych hath well deserued hys loue, by giuing to hym a ryng, a chain, or some great treasure, as though he should say: because iustice worketh on the one side, therefore mercie hath nothing to doe on the other side, or as though God were not both iust & mercifull: Iust in damning for their offence, those which are damned: and mercifull in sauing without their desert those which are saued.

And who seeth not that neyther *simile*, nor *disimile*, neyther like thyngs, nor thyngs contrarie, do holde in all poyntes, for nothing is so like, whych in some

Some thyng is not vnlike, neyther any thing so contrarie, whych doth in all things varie. Chritt is likened to a Lion, but did he euer rauish, or deuour, and shedde any innocent bloude? *Latimer* wyssheth, that al Byshops were like Byshop Diuell in diligence, the ought not the Diuell and a Byshop to differ in all thyngs. And most specially and plainely, doeth the Scripture beate in our heads: aboue al other things, that the nature of contraries, doe not holde in both sides of Gods reward, & mans deseruing. For as they are inseparable relatiues in the one part, so on the other side, the one hath neuer any relation to the other, for as Gods hatred and vengeance, hath euer relation to mans deseruing: so hath Gods loue and mercie neuer any relation to mans merite. Yea, all the Scripture teacheth vs, that God neuer hateth, or punisheth man wythout his owne deseruing. For as the wyse man sayth: *Et cum qui nullam poenam commertus sit condemnas, a tua potentia iudicas alienum.* *Sapient. 12.* And thou Lord (sayth he) esteimest it a thyng contrarie to thy power, to haue condemned him whych hath not deserued punishment.

What should be sayde of the Cananites and the Israelites, if the nature of contraries do alway hold, and haue such relation of the one to the other, must it not then necessarily follow (as he sayth) by the nature of contraries: that if the Cananites were cast out of the fortunate land that floweth wyth milke and hony, for their euill deseruing: that on the other side the Israelites were brought and planted into that same happie and blessed rest, for their well deseruing? But what sayth the Scripture? Speake not in thy heart, after that the Lorde thy God hath cast them out before thee, saying: for my righteous-

Cc. j.

Deut. 9.
nelle

An Apologie of Crowley

ness the Lorde hath brought me in, to possesse thys lande, naye, but for the wickednesse of those Nations, the Lorde doth cast them out before thee. So plainly speaketh the holie ghost here, that thou mayst easily perceyue, how grosse and vayne their saying is, which affirme: That if God hate an euill man for his owne euill deseruing, then must it nedes follow, that he loueth a good man for hys owne well deseruing. For the hatred of God and euerlasting damnation are iust rewardes of mans euil deseruing: but the loue of God and euerlasting life are free gyftes of God, for Christes sake wythout any part of mans owne deseruing.

Rom. 6.

Take therefore this saying of theyrs: No sinne neyther originall nor actuall, is the cause of Gods hate or eternal death, and put the same into the one side of the ballaunce, then take, and put into the other side, this saying of S. Paul to the Romanes: was that then that was good, made death vnto me? God forbid, but sinne was made death vnto me. Then wey both these sayings together with the hand of good aduise-mēt, in the indifferent ballāce of vpright iudgement, and put not in aboue three graynes of wilful partialitie: thus shalt thou plainly see, that the Apostle agreeth farre better with the Maiestie of God, and hath a much more reuerent opinion of hys iudgements, than these men haue, yea, thou shalt easily perceyue (whatsoever they say) that neyther Gods pleasure, nor Gods ordinance, or predestinatiō, nor none other thing that is good, is made death, or the cause of Gods hatred, agaynst any man, but sinne is the very grounded cause, why God hateth, taketh vengeance, and punisheth man by death and destruction, according to that which the same Apostle sayth

Rom. 7.

sayth : Death is the reward of sinne. And the wordes of Osee are also manifest & plaine where he saith : O Israell thou doest destroy thy selfe , but in me onely is thy helpe. In which words of the holie ghost, thou seest how manifestly God doth, as it were purge him selfe, from being the cause or worker of mans destruction, so that the perdition and destruction of man, is altogether to be attributed vnto hym selfe : And God being cleare , neyther accessarie , nor partaker thereof, as the chiefe and hygh Iudge of heauen and earth , vnspotted and wythout blame , gyueth the sentence of euerlasting death vpon man, for his own wicked deseruing and offence.

But on the other side sayth God vnto man, in me only is thy helpe. In God onely, onely in God is our helpe and saluation, in him onely, and of him altogether, and not of our selues: commeth our saluation , and all whatsoeuer belongeth thereto. The same is also set forth by all those Scriptures, whych are before rehearsed , to proue that sinne and euill, commeth not of Gods predestination, for vpon that conclusion dependeth also thys proposition , that sinne is not the cause of Reprobation , or of Gods hatred towards man.

Crowley.

Yet once againe hath Cerberus a snatch at Knoxe. Whether he do report his words truly or not , I knowe not: for I haue not seene that booke of his, neither haue I cause to thinke, y^e al is Gospel that Cerberus saith. Much more adoe than needeth doth Cerberus make , to proue that an Argument *à contrariis*, *simile* and *dissimile* : doth not alwayes conclude necessarilie. For as he sayth , who

C. y. sixth

An Apologie of Crowley

saith not, that they do not holde in all pointes: This therfore that Cerberus hath here written, is but dalliance, and as it were dauncing about the bushe. The questio is, whether the sequelle be good in the matter that Knoxe doth vse it in, or not. We must therfore consider the matter, and how Knoxe doth applie this maner of reasoning to this matter. The matter therfore, is a question moued concerning the cause why Esau shoulde be hated of God, and Jacob beloued, before any of them had done eyther good or euill, yea and before they were borne, and therfore, before there could be in them any deseruing at all. Now, Knoxe sayth, that if Esau were hated for his euill deseruing: then must it needes follow, by an Argument following of the nature of contraries, that Jacob was beloued for his well deseruing.

Nowe, I must thinke well of Knoxe, for I knowe hym to be not only learned but also godlie, and therfore not like to ouershoote himselfe so farre, that he woulde stretch an Argument, taken out of the place of contraries, further than the nature thereof will suffer. I must thinke therfore, that he meant, that if God do in choosing and refusing, in louing and hating, respect nothing but the well deseruing of one sort, and the euill deseruing of y other (as the common opinion of the Papistes is) then it must needes follow, by an Argument of the nature of contraries, that if he hated Esau for his euill deseruing, he must needes loue Jacob for his well deseruing.

If Cerberus be not satisfied with this, let him looke for furdere aunswere at Knoxes owne hand, for he is yet liuing and able to aunswere for himselfe.

As for the similitude of a King or Prince, that Cerberus vseth to deface Knoxes Argument withall: may serue him among such as know not that God is free from mens affections, and that he can not be moued to loue
vs

vs the better foꝛ the giftes that we bestow vpon him, noꝛ the woꝛse, foꝛ that we take from him and spoyle him of any treasure that he ought to haue.

The nature of God is not to hate but to loue. Foꝛ S. John sayth, God is loue. And as the wise man sayth, he loueth all things that be, and he hateth none of the thinges that he hath made. Neyther hath he ordeined oꝛ made any thing, hating the same that he ordeyned oꝛ made. Foꝛ in that he made oꝛ ordeyned them, they are all exceeding good. Wherefoꝛe, when we say, oꝛ when it is sayd in the Scriptures, that God doth hate any of his creatures, (as it is said that he hated Esau) it is meāt that he loued not Esau oꝛ those other creatures, whome he is sayde to hate, so well as he loued the others, of whome it is sayd that he loued them.

1. Iohan. 4.
Sapient. 11.

It can not be denied, but must needes be confessed, that God loued al his creatures, in that he would make them some thing, where as befoꝛe they were nothing, and in that he would giue them some part of that which is proper to himselfe. Foꝛ to be, is proper to God. And whatsoeuer hath any being: it hath the same of God. When God giueth a being to his creatures, he sheweth that he loueth them: but when he giueth them an euerlasting and blessed being, then he loueth them so, that the other loue in comparison of that, seemeth but an hatred. And therfoꝛe it is sayd that he hateth them, whom he appointeth not to that euerlasting blessed being, but leaueth the to themselues, that in them he may haue occasion to exercise his iustice, and by them to gyue occasion to his deariely beloued to see and consider the exceeding greatnesse of his lone and mercie towarde them.

But Cerberus seemeth to haue the whole Scripture on his side. Foꝛ he sayth, that all the Scripture teacheth vs, that God neuer hateth and punisheth vs without our

An Apologie of Crowley

Sapient. 12.

olwe deserving. Which saying, I graunt to be true, but not in that sense that Cerberus would haue vs to vnderstande it. For Cerberus would haue vs to thinke that God could not be compted iust, if he shoulde refuse any man in whome there were not sinne, that might moue God to refuse him, and to that ende he citeth the wordes of the wise man. For this is his opinion, as it appeareth before, that in Christ all mankinde is elected, and so consequently, that Esau was elected in Christ. But by sinne he made himself a reprobate, and was not refused before he sinned.

But let vs see, how this place of the wise man maketh for his purpose. The wordes are these, as Cerberus citeth them. *Et cum qui nullam poenam commertus sit condemnasse: a tua potentia iudicas alienum.* And thou Lorde, esteemest it a thing contrarie to thy power, to haue condemned him that hath not deserued punishment. All the Scripture is now, by Cerberus, brought into a short summe. For it is knit vp in lesse than two lines, wyrtten in the xij. Chapter of the booke of wisdome.

Of what authoritie that booke hath alwayes bene thought to be: I thinke Cerberus is not ignozant. And how diuers readings there be of that place which he cyteth: I suppose he knoweth. The Tygurine Bible is it that Cerberus followeth. Other translations there be, that differ from that, and from the olde also. The olde translation hath it thus.

Cum ergo sis iustus, iuste omnia disponis: ipsum quoq; qui non debet puniri, condemnas, & exterum astimas a tua virtute. That is. Forasmuch as thou thy selfe art iust, thou doest dispose all things iustly: him also that ought not to be punished, thou doest condemne, and doest esteeme him as one exiled from thy power or dominion. Bylike, when Cerberus cited this place, he supposed that no mā should see

see his booke, but such as were not able to discern Chalk from Cheese. What place can make more manifestly against him and for vs, than this place doeth? For by these wordes it is plaine, that though God do condemne him, that hath not by any deedes deserued to be condemned: yet is God neuer the latter, iust, and doth dispose all things iustly.

Yea, and the circumstance of the Text doth shew that this translation is more nigh the meaning of the writer, than is that which Cerberus followeth. For the sentence going immediatly before, is thus. *Neq; Rex, neq; tyrannus, in conspectu tuo inquirant, de his quos perdidisti.* That is: Whether King nor tyrant, will in thy presence make inquisition for them that thou hast destroyed.

And the sentence that doth immediatly follow, is thus. *Virtus enim tua, iustitia initium est: & ab hoc quod omnium Dominus es, omnibus te parcere facis.* That is. For thy power is the beginning of iustice, and because thou art Lord of all, thou dost make thy selfe to spare all.

But because there is such diuersitie of translations in the Latine, and peraduenture Cerberus wll saye he hath looked in the Greeke, and findeth that the Tygurine translation, which he followeth, is most agreeable to the Greeke Text, out of which all our Latine translations are taken. It shall not be amisse therefore to set downe the Greeke Text, that suche as haue any skill therein, may iudge betwixt vs.

Δίκαιος δε εἶμι, Δικαίως τα πάντα διεπαις, αὐτὸν τὸν μὲ οφείλοντα κολάσθηναι, κατὰδικάσαι ἀλλότριον ἡγούμενος τῆς γῆς Δυνάμεως. That is to say (so far as I am able to vnderstand it) Thou being iust, dost dispose all things iustly, commaunding to condemne strange from the land of thy power, him who is not to be iudged ignominious. If any can see any other meaning in this Greeke text: I wil not

An Apologie of Crowley

not contende, for I see that many men of great learning, haue varied in opinion about the translation therof.

But graunt that Cerberus haue cited that translation that is according to the true meaning of the Text: what hath he wonne thereby? Shall all the Scripture be on his side, because it is written in y^e booke of wisdom, that God esteemeth it a thing contrarie to his power (or more truly after the Latine Text that Cerberus citeth) a thing straunge from his power, to condemne him that hath not deserved punishment: I thinke not. For the booke of wisdom, is of that sort of bookes that must be made to agree with y^e Canonick bookes: the Canonick bookes must not be enforced to agree with it: For it is Apokryphe, that is a booke permitted to be read priuately, but not of such authoritie that we may builde our sayth vpon euery sentence in it.

But graunt that this booke were of as great authoritie as any other booke of Scripture is: should we thinke that God might not iustly refuse such of his creatures as it pleaseth him not to chuse, vnlesse the same creatures had first by sinne made them selues vnworthie to be chosen: We must not restraine God of his libertie, to doe wyth his creatures what he himselfe will. Neyther must we say or thinke, that any thing that he doth, is or can be other than iust, albeit that we can not vnderstand howe the same shoulde be iust. We must therefore, wyth reuerend feare, seeke another meaning of this place than Cerberus doth teach vs: let vs thinke therefore, that God speaketh here of the execution of his iudgement, and not of election. And it shalbe good for vs to say alwayes wyth S. Austen, that the cause of Gods doings may be secrete, so that we can not know them: but vniust they can not be.

But Cerberus seemeth to himselfe to haue gotten a great aduantage by the example of the Cananites and Israelites.

*Aug. Paulino
Quest. 6.*

Israelites. The Cananites were driven out for they sinned, and this was iustice: but the Israelites were put in their place without deserving, and that was mercie. Wherefore in refusing, God worketh by iustice, and in choosing, he worketh by mercie. As though there were no difference betwene choosing and refusing of creatures, and the using of them when they be chosen or refused. God chooseth and refuseth without respect of good or euill desertings: but he maketh not his refusal known vnto men, till the refused haue by theyr sinnes shewed themselves worthe to be refused. And though the chosen sort, neyther do nor can shewe themselves worthe for theyr good workes to be chosen: yet before they receyue the great blessing promised, they shewe themselves by theyr workes, lesse worthe to be refused than the other.

And to this do the Scriptures that Cerberus hath cited out of Moses, Paule, Iſaie and the rest: full well agree. But it followeth not hereof that therefore God had not refused the wicked sort before they sinned.

It is true, that death is the rewarde of sinne: but it is not true that euerie one that sinneth, receyueth that rewarde, for Christ came to saue sinners, and the free gift of euerlasting life is bestowed vpon such sinners, as were elected in Christ before the beginning of the world.

It is true also, that man destroyeth himselfe, by the free consent of his will, to do contrarie to the commandement of God, & that his helpe and succour cometh of God alone: & yet doth it not therfore follow, that no man is refused of God before he haue committed sinne, whereby he destroyeth himselfe. For when the elect were chosen in Christ, then were the rest refused. For other wise, it could not be an election, but a generall acceptation.

As for the saying that Cerberus sayth is ours, and would haue his friend to lay it in the one side of the bal-

Do. J.

launce

An Apologie of Crowley

launce against S. Paules wordes to the Romaines : I leaue to him selfe to be weyed wth the hand of good aduise-ment. &c. And let him put in as many graines of wilfull partialitie as he will : for the saying is none of ours. For we teach, that sinne is the cause of eternall death, in those that be not Gods elect, and were it not that Christ hath washed his chosen flocke in his owne heart bleud : sinne would be theyr destruction too.

It is but for his owne pleasure therfore, that Cerberus doth thus turne round after his owne tayle.

Cerberus.

And vpon the same Article dependeth also another part of doctrine, which they teach, worthy to be millicked of all men, as wel for that it importeth a sophisticall search of bottomlesse secretes, in the verie essence and nature of God, as also, for that it clearely withdraweth vs from Christ, the only staie, and comfort of our weake conscience, deliuered vnto vs in the word of God, for that they might be sure to holde fast the former principle, that all things come of Gods predestination, as running streames out of a deepe fountaine. They affirme, that the free mercie of God in Christ, is but an inferiour cause of Election, and that we are taught to ascende vnto a higher cause, as vnto the eternall purpose and predestination of God, which he determined onely in him selfe. So sayth the printed booke before named, translated out of French into English.

That same thing we reade also, lately set forth in English print, in the glose of the last translated Bible. Rom. cap. 9 wth these wordes. As the only wyl and purpose of God, is the chiefe cause of Election and
Repro-

Reprobation, so his free mercie in Christ is an inferior cause of saluation. &c.

But for my part, I trust in minde, neuer to ascēd vnto that high cause of Election, and in heart neuer to taste of that eternall purpose or predestination, which God hath determined only in himselfe, without or aboue his free mercie, which is in Christ. For surely, that eternall purpose, whych cometh not of Gods free mercie in Christ, is to destroy, and not to saue. Agayne, if that eternall purpose spring out of Gods free mercie, then is that free mercie of God, the chiefe cause, and not an inferior cause why he purposeth to saue vs, for a great dishonor it were to the mercie of God: to be put to an inferior place, touching election and saluation of man. For if euer Gods mercie be aboue all, it is in the sauing of miserable man: and mercie there is not in God towarde man, but onely in Christ.

Therefore S. Paule Ephes. 3. b. calleth it the eternall purpose, which he purposed in Christ Iesus our Lord: In Christ therefore was this eternall purpose, and for hys onely sake, God the Father eternally purposed to elect and saue vs. Consider and marke it well, whence commeth thys purpose or wyll of God to saue vs: but of his free mercie? If hys purpose to saue vs, spring out of his free mercie, why is then his mercie inferior to his purpose, or how is the fountaine inferior to the springs that come therof?

Also, what may be sayd in God at any time, or in any respect to be higher or greater than his mercie, seeing it is written, that his mercie is as great as himselfe. Ecclesiast 2. d. Yea, and most specially it is so to be sayd, that his mercie passeth all, when we speak of this matter: For of thys it is written, that mercie

Iacob. 1. b.

Dd. ij.

re.

An Apologie of Crowley

reioyceth agaynst iudgement, and why? all the iudgements of God in thys behalfe are not to be compared vnto hys mercie, for though it were not true, *Ps. li. 45. b.* whych Dauid sayeth, that his mercie is aboue all his workes, yet were it cleare, that in Election and Redemption and saluation of man, Gods mercie in Christ, hath euer the highest place: and those which in the saluation of our soules, make the free mercie of God an inferiour cause, how base a rourne will they asigne vnto hys free mercie, in nourishing and preserving our bodies. Let them reach as hygh as they can, I trust to go no furder, but to hold me fast by the euerlasting mercie of God, and by the hemme of Christes garment, for the Scripture describeth God vnto me, wythout Christ as a wrathfull and mooste terrible Iudge, but in Christ, and for hys sake, as a father whose wrath is pacified, and he well pleased, reconciled, agreed, and at one: and to speak of a hygher cause or purpose, to elect and saue only in God, beside or without this free mercie in Christ, or that Christ and Gods free mercie in hym, is not the chiefest cause which worked and obteyneth the decree, and purpose of God, to elect and saue, it is plainly nothing else, but to deny the mercy of God in election, reconciliation, redemption and saluation, by Christ, in Christ, and for Christ: As easily it may be perceyued, if a man do but weigh and consider, what eternall purpose an Election, and a reconciliation is, seing Christ is our Aduocate, Mediator, Peace, Reconciliation & Atonement, as in these Scriptures following, and many other, it doth plainly appeare. *Psal. 84. a. Math. 1. a. Ephe. 1. a. 2. b. Rom 5. a. b. Coloss. 1. c. 2. Corin. 5. d. 1. Ioã. 2. a. Heb. 5. b. c. and. 7. a. b. c. d. e. 2. Timoth. 1. c.*

And

And although it be true according to the Scriptures, that God so loued the worlde, that he gaue his onely begottē sonne. &c. yet did he neither loue the world, nor gyue hys sonne wythout the intercession & mediatiō of his sonne, for if God loued the world without the reconciliation and mediatiō, or before he was reconciled, intreated, and pacified by Christ, then is Christ in vaine come to late to be our mediator, seing God the Father is without him alredy reconciled. But horrible false is thys opinion: For like as the sonne of a King might entreat his Father for the seruant, whom for hys offences, the King in hys displeasure, were ready to cast, not onely out of hys seruice, but also into perpetuall prision: euen so Christ our onely Sauour, and Gods only sonne, did offer vp himselfe, as a raunsome vnto his Father for vs, whereby he pacified the wrath of hys Father, and adioyned vs with himselfe, to be sonne and heyres of hys Fathers glorie. And this hath Christ done, not only now in tyme, but also euerlastingly in the most hygh and eternall purpose of God, before the foundation of the world was layde.

Thus I end, thinking it sufficient for this presēt, that I haue in these few wordes pouged my selfe of those thigs which you lay to my charge, & set forth vnto your iudgement, the errors of *Pelagius*, that you may the better discern, who they are, whych are worthie to be called after that sect: and also plainly declared, in what pointes my conscience differeth, from certayne teachers of our time: and vpon what grouūd, I am moued so to mislike some part of their doctrine, whych thyngs if you diligently weye and consider, readyng the same wythout partiallitie: then haue I my desire.

Dd.iiij.

Crow-

An Apologie of Crowley

Crowley.

I am glad, that Cerberus is now come to an ende. Much adoe he had to let slip so manie things as offered themselves to be spoken off. But now he hath concluded, contenting him selfe wth fewe wordes, in purging him selfe of those things that his friende charged him with, and setting forth the Pelagians errors. &c.

Yet, euen in the winding bp of y^e matter, he hath found one part of doctrine, hanging vpon the Article of Gods eternal predestinatiō, which is to be misliked of al mē (if Cerberus be not deceyued) and that is: That as the only will & purpose of God is the chiefe cause of Election and Reprobation: so his free mercie in Christ is an inferiour cause of saluatiō. &c. Here Cerberus doth of purpose leaue out the ende of that glose, shutting bp the matter wth his. &c. I will therefore set downe the words that follow, which are these: and the hardening of the heart an inferiour cause of damnation. Now this glose is some thing more plaine than it was before, as Cerberus hath cited it with his. &c. He thought belike, that the Bible wherein he findeth this glose, is not in euerie mans hande, and therefore his. &c. should cause men to thinke that the rest of the glose must be as good stufte as he thinketh the first part to be. That is worthy to be misliked of all men, importing a sophisticall search of bottomlesse secretes, and drawing from Christ. Such shifts doth Cerberus vse, to make mē mislike with that which he himselfe liketh not.

But to proue this part of doctrine to be such as Cerberus affirmeth it to be: he vseth two reasons. One is, that the eternall purpose of God, springeth out of hys free mercie in Christ: wherefore that free mercie cannot be inferiour to Gods eternall purpose, more than the fountaine, from which streames of water do flowe, can be

be inferiour to the streames that flow from it. The other is of the mediation of Christ. For if God did in his eternall will and purpose, elect vs before Christ had appeased his wrath, by his mediation: then was it but a vaine thing for Christ to be a Mediatour, neyther had we any neede of his mediation.

Although I would gladly content my self, to haue defended mine owne writings, and other mens wherewith Cerberus findeth fault, euen with as fewe wordes as he bleseth in purging himselfe and other, of that which his friend layeth to his charge: yet may I not so shortly slip ouer this matter wherewith Cerberus hath shut vp his answers.

For if Cerberus would haue sought how to haue set forth to be scene, his owne wilfull ignorance, and error in the chiefe pointes of our Religion: he could not haue found a better meane, than he hath vsed in these two reasons that he maketh against the doctrine conteyned in the glose wherewith he misliketh.

For what greater error can there be, than to holde that with God there is time past, and time to come: and that any of the essentiall properties of God do spring out of other in time, as though there had bene or could haue bene a time, wherein God lacked those properties: Or that the sonne of God, the seconde person in Trinitie, should in his diuine nature in time, make mediation to God the Father, that thereby he mig^t purpose to saue man, whom he was before purposed to destroy. For Arius against him that hath sayde, that the only will and purpose of God, is the chiefe cause of Election and Reprobation: and that his free mercie in Christ is an inferiour cause of saluation. &c. He sayth that the purpose or will of God to saue vs, must needes spring out of the free mercie of God, and that therefore the will or purpose of
God

An Apologie of Crowley

God in saving, must of force be inferiour to his mercie, even as streames that issue from fountaines, are inferiour to the fountaines that they come from.

And to proue this, he citeth the words of Ecclesiasticus the. 2. Chapter. *Secundum enim magnitudinem ipsius: sic & misericordia illius cum ipso est.* That is: Even according to his owne greatnesse, so is his mercie with hym. He citeth also the saying of S. James. Cap. 2. of his Epistle, where he sayth. *Iudicium enim sine misericordia: illi qui non facit misericordiam. Glorietur autem misericordia aduersus iudicium.* That is: He that sheweth no mercie, shall haue iudgement without mercie. But mercie reioyseth against iudgement. And againe, he citeth the words of Dauid in the Psalm. 145. *Misericordia eius super omnia opera eius.* That is: His mercie is vpon all his workes.

All this ado he maketh, to proue that Gods will and purpose are inferiours to his mercie. But how well that is by these Scriptures proued, I referre to the iudgement of the indifferent Reader. Sirach sayth, that those which feare the Lorde will prepare their heartes, and humble their soules before the Lord. Let vs fall into the handes of God, and not into the hands of men: For even as his greatnesse is, so is his mercy. Sirach his purpose is to set forth the effect of h^e feare of God, which worketh in h^e heartes of mē, a true turning to God, with an assured hope of forgiveness at his hande, bicause they be perswaded, that he is no lesse readie to forgive penitent sinners, than he is able to punish the impenitent.

S. James sayth, that the merciful shall finde mercie, minding to perswade all men to shew mercie one to another. Assuring themselves, that vnlesse they do so, they can finde no mercie with God, and on the contrarie, if they do shew mercie, they shall not neede to feare iudgement, for mercie shall preuaile against iudgement.

And

And Dauid the Prophet hath said, that Gods mercie is vpon all his workes, although it please Cerberus to cite his wordes otherwise, for his purpose. For he sayth, that Dauid hath said, that the Lordes mercie is aboue all his workes. Which words though they be true, yet hath not Dauid so sayd, neyther maye I suffer Cerberus, to cause the Prophet Dauid to speake as he woulde haue him, that his fantasie might be maintained by the Prophetes words. Dauids meaning is to teach that the Lord God sheweth mercie vpon all his workes, so that there is not one of the workes of God, that hath not cause to praise him for his louing kindnesse and mercie. Both y^e Hebrue and Greeke Text, and al the translations in Latine, and English too (so many as I haue seene) do giue thys sense of the Prophetes wordes.

How can Cerberus proue then, by these Scriptures, that the mercie of God is the fountaine of his wil & purpose? All that he doeth therefore is nothing else but a setting forth of his owne wilfull ignorance, whereby he is fallen into the filthy error of them that imagine of God, as of a man, and that he is moued with affectiōs as men be. Whereas, in God: His vnderstanding, his vnmeasurable power, his vnsearcheable wisdom, his mercifull goodnesse, his truth and iustice, his chastenesse and freedome in all poyntes, to wyll what he lusteth, to do what it pleaseth him, and to purpose & appoynt what liketh him: are essentiall properties, without which he neyther is, nor can be God. To imagine therefore, that there was a time wherein God was purposed to destroy man, and that his mercie in Christ hath chaunged that purpose, and caused him now to purpose and will to saue man: is to imagine y^e there was a time wherein God was not so mercifull as he is now, & so, not so perfectly God as he is now. And that by experieñce he hath learned some

Eccl.

what

An Apologie of Crowley

What more wisdom than he had at the first, and therefore, may be wiser hereafter than he is now. How great absurdities these are, I leaue to the iudgement of the indifferent Readers.

But Cerberus will saye, that though I haue sayde some thing against him, yet I haue sayd nothing for him whose wordes I haue taken in hande to defende: but in my wordes I seeme to fight against them both. I answer: I haue not taken vpon me to defend, eyther mine owne or other mens wordes, furder than in conscience I thinke them to be true. And if I did thinke that the wyter of that glose did meane as grossely, as I perceyue by his open wordes that Cerberus doth: I would not spare him more than I haue spared Cerberus: but for as much as his wordes seeme not to me, to haue any such meaning as to teach that there was a time, wherein God was mercilesse towards mā, & that his mercy first sprang out of his will and purpose (as Cerberus doth plainly teach, that his wil and purpose sprang out of his mercurie) I must not refuse to take that good meaning of his wordes, which may seeme to me to be according to the truth of Christian religion.

The wordes of Paule, wherupon this note is made, are these. I will haue mercie on him, to whō I wil shew mercie. Upon this it is noted in the margine, that as the onlie will and purpose of God is the chiefe cause of Election and Reprobation: so his free mercie in Christ is an inferiour cause of saluation: and the hardening of the heart an inferiour cause of damnation. I vnderstand the meaning of these words to be, that as the only wil & purpose of God is the chiefe cause, that there was an Election and choise of some, and a refusall of other some: so the shewing forth of his mercie in Christ, is an inferiour cause, that is, an instrumentall cause whereby saluation is

is wrought in the elected, according to Gods will and purpose, and the hardening of the hearts of the reprobates, an instrumentall cause of damnation, in the reprobates, according to the same eternal will and purpose.

He therefore that sayth we must ascende to an higher cause of Election, than that which appeareth in the execution of Gods mercie in Christ, doth not teach to set by the essentiall properties one aboue another, as though one were fountaine of another, and that God lacked the one till it sprang out of the other: but he teacheth that the same mercie that we see executed in Christ in time, was decreed in the eternall will and purpose of God before all time, and so was the refusall of the whole heartes we see hardened in time. If any man do see cause to iudge otherwise of this glose: I am well pleased that the same vse his owne iudgement in enterpreting the meaning therof. And if I may perceyue any mans iudgement herein to be sounder than mine, I trust I shalbe ready to condescend to that.

And least any man should thinke, that herein I doe followe mine owne fantacie, without example of any thing that I see in the auncient Fathers: I will sette downe the wordes of S. Austen, that haue bene a meane to confirme me herein.

In his. 14. booke, *De Ciuitate Dei*, 4. 11. Chapter: S. Austen writeth thus. *Sed quia Deus cuncta presciuit, & ideo hominē quoq; peccaturum ignorare non potuit: secundum id quod presciuit, itq; disposuit, ciuitatem Dei debemus asserere, non secundum illud quod in nostram cognitionem peruenire non potuit, quia in Dei dispositione non fuit. Nec enim homo peccato suo, diuinum potuit perturbare consilium, quasi Deum, quod statuerat, mutare compulerit: cum Deus prescendi utrūq; preuenerit, id est, & homo quem bonum ipse creauit, quoniam malus esset futurus, & quid boni, etiam sic de illo esset ipse facturus: Deus enim etsi dicitur, statu-*

An Apologie of Crowley

*ta mutare : Vnde tropica locutione in Scripturis sanctis , etiam
penitusse legitur deum iuxta id dicitur quod homo sperauerat, vel
naturalium causarum ordo gestabat : non iuxta id , quod se om-
nipotens facturum esse presciuerat. That is to saye : But by
cause God did know all things before hand, and therfore
could not be ignorant that man should sinne : we must
teach that the holie Citie is such a thing as he did foresee
and appoint that it should be , not such as we could not
come to the knowledge of, bicause it was not in that dis-
position or order that God made. Neyther was man, by
his sinne able to disorder the purpose of God, as though
he shoulde haue constrained God to chaunge the thyng
that he had once decreed: seeing that God by his foresight
did preuent both , that is to say , both how the euill man
shoulde become (whom he had created good) and also what
thyng he woulde make of him , euen when he shoulde in
such wise become euill. For although it be sayd that God
doth chaunge his purposes (whereof it commeth that by
a figuratiue speach , it is reade in the holie Scriptures,
that God did repent) the same is spoken according to that
which man hoped for, or that which the order of naturall
causes did import : not according to that , which the al-
mightie did know before hand that he himself would do.*

Againe, the same Austen in his booke *De diuersis que-
stionibus. 83. and the. 15. 16. 17. questions sayth thus. Deus om-
nium quæ sunt causa est. Quod autem omnium rerum causa est :
etiam sapientie suæ causa est . Nec vnquam Deus sine sapientia
sua : Igitur sempiterna sapientia sua , causa est sempiterna, nec
tempore prior est quam sua sapientia. Deinde, si patrem sempiter-
num esse inest deo, nec fuit aliquando non pater : nunquam sine
filio fuit. Omne præteritum iam non est. Omne futurum non dum
est. Omne igitur & præteritum & futurum non deest. Apud deum
autem nihil deest : Nec præteritum igitur, nec futurum , sed omne
presens est apud deum.*

That

That is to saye : God is the cause of all those things that be. And in asmuch as he is the cause of all things: he is the cause of his owne wisdom. Neyther was God at any time without his owne wisdom : therefore he is the everlasting cause of his owne everlasting wisdom, neyther is he in time more auncient than his owne wisdom. Furthermore, if to be an everlasting Father, be a thing that is in God, and that he hath not at any time not bene a Father : then hath he neuer bene without a sonne. Whatsoever is past, is not now. Whatsoever is to come, is not yet. Therefore, whatsoever is past or to come, is wanting, but with God there is nothing wanting. There is with God therefore nothing past or to come, but all present.

These sayings of Austen do seeme to me sufficient to staie a man in that minde that I am of, concerning the cause of Gods Election and Reprobation. His will and purpose which could neuer be wanting in him, neyther can by any meanes be altered, chaunged or letted, maye well be called the cause why he hath chosen some, and reiected some other some. And this Election is in him everlasting as he himselfe is : neither may it be thought that there was euer any time wherein he had not elected those that be elected, and refused those that be refused. But we holde not that this is done without Christ, and therefore Cerberus laboureth more than needeth to proue by Scriptures that our Election is in Christ. For we account Christ to be eternall as his Father is, and his incarnation to be alwayes present with God. And therefore, that the Election that is in Gods purpose and wil, is not without Christ the mercysseate and mediatour betwixt God and man. Thus much for the first of Cerberus his two reasons.

Now a fewe wordes to his second reason, and so an

Ec.ij.

end.

An Apologie of Crowley

end. First, Cerberus doeth in this reason flatly affirme, that God did not loue the worlde, nor giue his sonne for the worlde, before his wrath was appeased by the mediation of his sonne. Whereupon it followeth, that there was a time, wherein God was wroth with the worlde, and not pacified by his Sonne. Which doctrine is as muche as to denie Christ to be a mediator. But in the closing vp of the matter, he ouerthroweth that againe, affirming that Christ hath pacified the wrath of his father, not onely now in tyme, but also euerlastingly in the most highe and eternall purpose of God before the foundation of the worlde was layed.

Hitherto he hath fought against vs: but now in the conclusiō he ioyneth with vs, calling the purpose of God eternall and most high. And what is that but to affirme all that we teache concerning the cause of Election and Reprobation.

As touching the mediation of Christ: we holde that which S. Austen wyrteth in his Homelie, *De ouibus. Non mediator homo præter Deitatem, Non mediator Deus præter humanitatem. Ecce mediator. Diuinitas sine humanitate non est mediatrix. Humanitas sine diuinitate, non est mediatrix. Sed inter diuinitatem solam, & humanitatem solam, mediatrix est, humana diuinitas, & diuina humanitas Christi.*

Man without the Godhead, is not mediator. God without the manhode is not mediator: Loe here is the mediator. The diuinitie without the humanitie is not mediatrix. The humanitie without the diuinitie is not mediatrix: but the humane diuinitie and the diuine humanitie of Christ, is the mediatrix betwene the diuinitie alone and the humanitie alone. And this mediation doe we holde (as in his conclusion, at vnwares I think, Cerberus hath confessed) to be euerlasting in the eternall and most highe purpose of God: according to the saying

saying of Saint John in the seconde of his first Epistle. We haue an Aduocate with God the Father, which is Iesus Christ the righteous. To whome with his Father and the holy Ghost be all honour and glozie. Amen.

Thus in as fewe wordes as I could: I haue defended that doctrine of Gods Providence & Predestination which I and others, haue taught, and as occasion serueth, doe teach, both in preaching and wryting. Beseeching the Christian Reader to call vpon God, for the ayde of his holy spirite to assist vs, and to make vs able to continue in the teaching of true doctrine, in this and all other Articles that concerne Christian religion, that by vs, as the ministers of God, the congregation of Iesus Christ maye be edified.

And if the Authour of the answer, doe finde himselfe grieued for that I haue talked of him vnder the name of Cerberus: my desire is, that he woulde make his right name knowen to me cyther by worde or wryting, and if he thinke himselfe able to disproue ought that I haue wrytten in this defence, he shall eyther finde me able to maintayne my wryting by good authoritie, or else redie to yelde to better. But if he will lurke still in secret, and cast abroad such libelles as is this answer to his friends letter: I wil not trouble

my selfe any moze in defending my selfe
& others against him that dare not
shew his face. Farewell. If
thou profite in reading, I
haue the gayne that
I sought in
wryting.

FINIS.

*Scene and allowed according to the
order appointed.*